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Balsillie can't
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MACLEAN'S

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ADDICTION

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SUGGESTS IT'S
NOT AN ILLNESS.
IT'S A CHOICE.**

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**THE
TORY PLOT TO
CRUSH IGNATIEFF P.22**



MANY FIRM clients are getting less aggressive about insurance in Canada, but their clients are getting less aggressive.

The truth about hate crimes in Canada

editor H. C. G. "Ginger" Smith as grafted onto the tree. The roots were never taken from the original tree, which still stands in the same spot.

Was it a hate crime? While the incident involving a white and a Black youth from Brampton, Ont., created a brief media stir last year, and was officially investigated by the local police, hate crime stats, charges were never laid and few reasons that should seem obvious. Most Canadians believe in their hearts a definition of a hate crime that is serious, violent, willful and deliberate. It is not to be found in a correspondence-schizophrenic fight. In fact, lone incidents in Canada are relatively rare, and growing rarer.

A Statistics Canada report released

The fact that police properly arrested him changes nothing in the case of the Kelowna high school fight, unless a possible legal fine for those who faced over 6000+ charges. It would be a recapitulation of the justice system to do the same for hate crimes as well that criminalization has failed come up and benefit someone in schools students.

The study also reveals that the van majority of targeted hate crimes were relatively minor. And all the major motivation for hate crimes showed declines since 2001, religious, racial/ethnic, and disability significantly, hate crimes directed toward religious groups exhibited the biggest drops, and those aimed at Muslims fell by more than a third.

MACLEAN'S

WORLD POLITICS READING LIST

SPRING 1988 The following is the subject of a forthcoming book published by Cornell University Press. * * * * * * * * * *	SPRING 1989 To appear in the fall of 1989. * * * * *
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SPRING 1989

Hanibar B. Kipnis
Goro Inoue
Domenic J. Triolo

SPRING 1990

John C. Pollock
Peter G. Trubowitz

MANUFACTURER'S NUMBER	DESCRIPTION
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100-1000-100	1000 ft. x 100 ft. x 100 ft.
100-1000-200	1000 ft. x 100 ft. x 200 ft.
100-1000-300	1000 ft. x 100 ft. x 300 ft.
100-1000-400	1000 ft. x 100 ft. x 400 ft.

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charge you for lost checked bags
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accommodate you if place flight-to-destination is not a Member Nation is Gall
By you while you're still there in North America
provide free assistance if it's our Rights
give you ample to grown and never feel isolated
publish our site, local language and customized rules
allow let you know where we're doing in Contingency
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SLOW RECOVERY

DO YOU REALLY think that we're on the road to recovery? ("The first step to recovery," *Business*, May 18) How about when GM is pushed into bankruptcy in order to break the union? Or what if an isolated Israel strikes out in Iran and oil prices in North America go through the proverbial roof? Or if North Korea pulls another nuclear weapons test? Recovery indeed?

Barry Moad, Winnipeg

I WAS DISAPPOINTED that your cover story about the coming recovery did not include the "Economy" that you yourself conclude in the Economic section. Some quick history: I received a copy of *The Economist* on or around March 22, 2008, with a cover photo of a "crumbling" Wall Street. From that point I began phasing out my equity exposure in the markets (I left). I was completely out by the time of the huge declines in the fall of 2008. The Marquette I received on March 9, 2009, included the Econogram, which was picturing the "twin parabola" portion of the graph. I brought back into the markets that week. March 9 proved to be the bottom for both the TSX and the S&P 500. The media plays a great role in both creating euphoria, as well as sadness and plummeting fears. By reading these media signals correctly, I was able to keep the boat afloat through the stock market storm. The Econogram helped me make money when no one else thought it was possible. It should be a regular feature in your publication, if only to be used as a contrast indicator.

Peter Compton, Calgary

IT'S ALL IN YOUR TEETH

YOU ARE TELLING us headlines ("It's all in your hand," *Health*, May 18) was informative. However, the real non-negotiable is a possible dental cause for certain types of headaches. Many people grind and clench their teeth during the day and especially all night while sleeping, this habit is called bruxism. Typically, many people will wake up in the morning with sore, tired jaws and a headache located on both sides of the head around the temples. This can run evaluate such patients for these symptoms will refer to such signs, such as excessive wear on the teeth, irregularities in the bite, sensitivity teeth. These patients can be treated with a custom-made

gnathic bite plate that they wear at night. This prevents them from grinding their teeth and removes the pressure exerted on their jaw joints—and of many other, alleviate their headaches.

Dr Steven Ntotsopoulos, Toronto

GLOATING GLUTTONS

WHY MUST BRAHMINIC DODORS allow CEO robes ban to continue to rip them off? ("Gloat until the gout," *Business*, May 18) Nobody is worthy of a bonus, nor even Research in Motion's Mike Lazaridis. I don't care what they do, how hard they work, or how smart:

John G. Harkins, Toronto

Photo: AP



A WEEK IN THE LIFE OF BILL CLINTON

His wife may be the secretary of state, but the former US president is racking up his own air miles. Over the weekend, Clinton has to Victoria for the Life Ball, a celebrity-slammed gala that raises money for HIV/AIDS research. On Monday, his spokesman revealed that he would be among the UN special envoy to Haiti, the poorest country in the western hemisphere. The next day, the new envoy was at a climate change conference in Seoul, warning that "bad things are going to happen."

Good news

Taming the Tigers

After 25 years and 100,000 casualties, the Sri Lankan civil war is finally over. The military has claimed total victory over the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), crushing the last remnants of the rebellion and killing the group's infamous founder Prabhakaran along the way. Wiping out the Tigers—a ruthless terrorist organization—will not magically eliminate a quarter-century of tidal blood between the Tamil Nationalist party and Tamil majority. But so far, the silent Maithripala Sirisena stands a hopeful, conciliatory note in his address to parliament: "The war against the LTTE is not over yet. Our aim was to liberate our Tamil people from the clutches of the LTTE."

Conned and beyond

The United States Supreme Court's decision is here or there of the fraud conviction of those Hollinger International execs, including former CEO Conrad Black, is, we're told, news, no matter what you might think of the men themselves. The guilty verdicts reflect the finding that the men defrauded the companies their "heart serves," a nearly legal coverage at the expense of other corporate stakeholders. As Justice Antonin Scalia has already written, the courage is so broad it can encompass a whole host of misdeeds that should not be criminal matters. In Hollinger, as in all cases, the law should be well-defined and proportionate to the offense. This is the high court's chance to provide much-needed clarity.

Jock talk

The game-seven showdown between the Pittsburgh Penguins

and Boston Bruins—Capitals ended with more of a whimper (than the Caps) than a bang, but Sid Crosby and Alexander Ovechkin didn't disappoint. Today's two superstars lit up by their best performances to date, and proved that the "heat player" label is still very much deserved. Although a world of the NHL presented to round three of the Stanley Cup playoffs, Alexander the Great does have one thing to be happy about, at least: he won't be wearing an Under Armour

FACE OF THE WEEK



JOCK-KEY Calvin Borel rides the horse Rachel Alexandra across the finish line to win the Preakness Stakes in Baltimore, Md.

jack. Health Canada has recalled the cups, warning that they might cause eye damage—gah!—an unsightly injury to the wearer.

New ball and chain

Convinced your teenager to prepare for exams can be a difficult first. Unless, of course, you take age in charge up in the face. Hence the new "Body Ball"—a 21st-century-style ball and chain designed to keep students at their desks and in their books for up to four hours. The device comes with its own countdown clock, and the ankle bracelet won't unlock until time expires.

Bad news

Burma knows

The military junta that rules Burma is staging yet another show trial for democracy activists Aung San Suu Kyi. The Nobel Peace Prize winner stands accused of violating the terms of her house arrest when a psychologically troubled American man visited her that night rounds her home to pay an unauthorized visit last month. It's an obvious bid by the dictators to keep Suu Kyi under wraps (her confinement was due to expire in a few weeks).

Touch not that dial

TV is bad for kids—nobody says that anymore. A combination of the couch tube came via speech from John Gibson, chair of Englewood's Littleton Schools Association. Citing a study showing kids aged three to seven a day watching TV, gaming or on the internet, he warned that an entire generation of children is not being prepared for adulthood. And that if they actually grow up. A separate U.S. study found 37,000 children were hospitalized in 2007 by television, and that television accounted for almost half the injuries—sometimes with fatal results. As for the role of mid-parenting, don't even get us started.

YAAAARGH!

Hope that Somalia's new government will forgive past evil and restore order to the lawless country—and the result of its conflict have been dashed by renewed fighting. Meanwhile, the rest of the world struggles to find an answer regarding piracy attacks. Iran is the latest to dispatch its navy to the Gulf of Aden, sending two ships to help protect its commercial interests. If the US can't do that, maybe Hollywood can. Samuel L. Jackson has optioned the life story of a Kenyan man who also possesses the reflexes of Captain America. The plan is to turn him into a superhero. Will his costume art?



NEWSMAKERS

Polish priest writes
with imagination

Pelikan's book publishing series has a surprising new star: a Polish Catholic priest who has written a book titled "The Catholic Encyclopedia: Father Kavanaugh's Testimony." See *Are You Good News?* for Alasdair Cochrane's review.

Robertson
flack

SENATOR JOHN McCAIN McCain's mother, the fairy Roberts McCain, 93, won't tolerate bottles at her annual April 19 appearance on *The Tonight Show* with Jay Leno last Wednesday, the dis-
INCORRECT
dinated Republicans point. Bush Lincolnburgh as a gross
"inaccuracy." "What the rep-
resents of the Republican party
has nothing to do with my dad's
or me," says Leno. "I don't know
what he means. I don't even
know who he's talking about."

B.C. may get its Citizen of the Year back



Canada to award the grants. On May 9, Jeannine's father, at his home in Westwood, London, where he is recovering from heart surgery. In 1984, Heinkel founded a company called Interstream Corp., which is in its fifth year and the help of a federal loan is growing for scientific research. The Victoria Chamber of Commerce named him "the best." But in 1985, Canada reported that \$1.5 million in back taxes were owing. In 1986, he was slapped with two convictions. He fled Victoria for the U.S. where he is said to have spent a time in a large Caucasus. "He knew no vowels," his wife says.



第15章

Members of her legal defense team met with her this week at the Rangoon prison where she is being held. She told them: "Don't worry about me. I will face whatever happens." Elephants' lawyer, Kyi Win, however, blames Ntaw for the whole mess, calling him "a fool."

Bruni's secular life
Carla Bruni-Sarkozy's rise to
recognition as the only first lady of
France—a predominantly Catholic



FORM SUBJECT: MODULAS BAERD

drawing of Bruni-Sarkisyan in part of a collection called "Pinay." Also featured in the collection are photos of the burlesque star Eva Ekvall, Dorothy Malone and as a dormitory girl.

Old man
Cruller

J.D. Salinger, the controversially reclusive American fiction writer, wrote off-pulp fiction new work decades ago. For a Swedish-American writer named John David California, however, Salinger's silence is an open California debutant. *Later Coming* (here as an unauthorized sequel) is Salinger's classic *Catcher in the Rye*. Late, Salinger's *Holocat* now 76 and known best-awarding hours.

school in the original world, and says, for answer to life's great questions in the streets of New York. "He's still Holden Caulfield and has a particle of neuroticism," Calle Bernt, 23, told the *Globe*. "He can be scared, and he's disappointed in the goddamn world. His older and wiser in a sense, but in another sense he doesn't have all the answers." California dedicated his book to Salinger. "Maybe he will agree," he admits. Critics regard this reposition of the book as so horrific, it can only be a best-seller.

Remember
Theorem

Twenty years after China's Tiananmen Square massacre, the memoirs of the country's former prime minister and general secretary—supporter of Western-style democratic reform—are finally being published. Zhao Ziyang, a leader of the Communist party at the time of the 1989 tragedy, was silenced and placed under house arrest after the Tiananmen protests.

Guo's memoirs were published in 2005. The book, called *Prisoner of State: The Secret Journal of Premier Zhou Enlai*, was first published in Chinese and English. It is said to be based on secret tapes recorded during his last years in power. In the book, he

Lending the subject

On Thursday, the New Jersey police department announced Troika Shelds to inform her that her mother, Terri Shelds, 75, had allegedly been checked out of a local care facility by two reporters for the *Newark Examiner*, claiming to be her friends. Shelds told People, "My mom's been diagnosed with dementia. For her safety, she has to patiently hear as a senior being faced a very difficult decision for me." The reporter who pulled down Shelds' information.

100 DOCUMENTS

1977), *American Appeal* boards its boat without permission in its legal defense. American Appeal had reportedly planned to use the same legal elements of Allen's personal history (whether the defendant has an record of credibility—including the defendant's consistent testimony) in his early relationship with his first Susan in Prairie, then the 21-year-old daughter of his former wife, *Mia Farrow*. *American Appeal* revealed that *American Appeal* believed that few of publicity would be from her rating as a "legitimate domestic violence

American Apparel
outfits Woody Allen.

Woody Allen, 71, won a US\$15 million judgment from American Apparel after its controversial Canadian CEO Dov Charney opted to use an image of Allen dressed as a Hasidic Jew from



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MITCH RAPHAEL ON THE PICTURE THAT TOOK 2 YEARS TO GET, WHY THE RUBY DHALLA STORY IS NOT BIG IN THE PHILIPPINES, AND HOW BOB RAE BEAT IGIEFF IN THE PARLIAMENTARIANS OF THE YEAR AWARDS

GILLES DUCEPPÉ'S SHORT-LIVED ACTING CAREER

At the third annual Mitchel Parliamentarians of the Year awards gala, Bloc Leader Gilles Duceppe emerged unopposed from most knowledgeable MP and best orator. He found the latter monologue funny, because in Quebec they are saying, "I am not that good an orator, but here, I am very good." Duceppe comes from a family of orators who also have the art and flair. When asked what had influenced him to become such, he said, "I was not a good orator at all. I can't play a role. I did only once for a Christmas play [at Grade 6 at his Catholic school]. The man had me play Saint Joseph, the husband of the Virgin Mary, which is the most useful role for a man to play—the husband of a virgin!" The awards gala was hosted by Quebec City Mayor Paul Wills and Le Droit columnists and L'Espresso magazine cartoonist Martin Comeau. Speaker Peter Milliken did the honors. Bob Rae was not on stage but could not wait to get in place for next year. Géraldine Pauline Ruby Duncan finished second. In 2005, when Michael Ignatieff won for best orator, he sent Ruby Dhalla as his hon. friend ("Toronto Liberal MP Rob Oliphant, who voted for Rae as best orator, and the author Rae beat Ignatieff that year was that as leader," Michael didn't have as much time in the House. Be legend more than one.") Ontario NDP MP Joe Comptier won, for the second year running, the award for most knowledgeable MP. He and he now find new place the extremely heavy awards in his Waterloo, Ont., office because he just replaced his heavy desk with a more solid one. For the third year in a row Nova Scotia MP Peter尤fier was most in legal trouble, but most collegial MP and fourth for best orator. In second place was Liberal whip Rodger Cuzner, who noted, "I

gave I've got to drink a little more [on beer Stroh's]" Cuzner said he wasn't surprised that fellow Liberal Stabto was chosen for best hard-working MP. Stabto wrote a 10-page letter filled with things they need to watch for. "He wants to see everyone succeed," says Cuzner. Halifax NDP MP Megan Leslie won for best rookie. Montreal Liberal MP and former actress Marcia Gervais placed second.

And what's next for Gervais?

She



years and was part of the wave of separatists elected when the party ran in its first federal election in 1993. It was a well-timed tribute to the MP, who will be leaving federal politics to run for the Parti Québécois in a year or so. The Year poll. We placed third for most collegial MP and fourth for best orator. In second place was Liberal whip Rodger Cuzner, who noted, "I

RUBY DHALLA AND HER SHOES

Last week, photojournalists were at the Canadian Filipinas for Parliamentarians of the Year awards. It was a well-timed tribute to the MP, who will be leaving federal politics to run for the Parti Québécois in a year or so. The Year poll. We placed third for most collegial MP and fourth for best orator. In second place was Liberal whip Rodger Cuzner, who noted, "I

of accusations by three Filipino women of poor work conditions in the Dhalla household. The co-chairs of the now-forming group are NDP Winnipeg MP Judy Wasylycia-Leis and Winnipeg Conservative MP Rod Brison. Wasylycia-Leis was a traditional Filipina shop and teacher turned entrepreneur. She is the cofounder of the matching Filipina shirts. She arranged for the celebration of the

new organization. The group's cause is Liberal MP Adam Neville. The Winnipeg version of the friendship group accuse women from the fact that Winnipeg is home to the second largest Filipino community after Toronto. One of the first orders of business for the group was to get the name right. Someone invented the "i" at the end of Philip Johnson, the documentarian knight to the first meeting. Philip Johnson, the ambassador from Brimley spoke to the new group. He noted that the Dhalla story, while getting some coverage in the Philippines, isn't making headlines there. But he says, because there are much more horrifying stories of alleged Filipino money laundering of the Middle East. Neville, in turn, has been physically beaten and "harassed" since. "The complaints of abuse shaved long and short shaving don't count," says. And speaking of the short haircuts, the men in the Dhalla household, says Canadian Filipinas co-chair, "With all the issues Ruby has, she wouldn't need to get them shaved—she always wore new lacebacks whenever I saw her."

GERM WARFARE ON THE HILL

After weeks of evading the press, the buildings on Parliament Hill have finally emerged from their first day of silence. All entrances now have bright dispensers. Hand Sanitizer. Vancouver Liberal MP Hedy Fry, who is also a family physician with over 100 baby deliveries to her name, notes that politicians use a high-risk group because all their hand washing. "I have seen MPs come to committee, shake everyone's hand and then reach for a bread roll," notes Fry, who keeps a small bottle of hand sanitizer with her at all times. Handwashing instructions have also been posted in PHL wash rooms, but Fry says the images leave out the importance of washing between your fingers. ■

PAGES TAKE ON MPS

The House of Commons pages once again took on MPs at their annual soccer match. Former Liberal leader Stéphane Dion invited Edmonton Conservative Mike Lake in giving the first goal. Dion was also a popular choice when readers page requests for enveloped photos with the MPs. In the end, the MPs were triumphant, winning 5-0. MPD/PMP Press Service once again played goalie. He is the MP's only goalie and had to be careful the year because last time he broke his hand. The referee for the game was Nicolas Desveaux, who physiotherapist himself and also works in the Press Hall gift shop. The MPs had

PHOTO BY JEFFREY MCKEEEN

ON THE WEB For more Ottawa news or to contact Ottawa's Capital Journal, visit www.ottawacitizen.ca/cj.



ANDREW COTTER

A new coalition, a different politics



GORDON CAMPBELL

It would be a stretch to claim that Gordon Campbell received much of a "mandate" in last week's British Columbia election. With 46 per cent of the vote, an electorate that turned out less than 50 per cent, Campbell was, at best, only one in five electors.

Still, it was enough to suggest that he was not defeated. Not only were Campbell's Liberals seeking a third term, in former voters have historically proved unwilling to betray, but as the incumbents in a maturing year one election, they were fighting daunting odds. His strengths to make opposition parties in other parts of the country sit up straight if they were under any illusion that they had only to show up, and the country would carry them to power, they can think again.

If anything, the economy seemed to be a plus for Campbell. Voters gave him credit as a competitor to economic managers who had abandoned users and balanced the books. Even the large budget deficit in the February budget did not provide a headache; his over-budget ledger legitimized non-borrowing. No doubt this reflected a general public tolerance for

red ink, given the state of the economy but no argument was the way he handled it. If he did not make any dramatic shifts in his policy to avert a deficit, neither did he deliberately expand it, or try to pretend that deficits were now a virtue.

And, to repeat, this has principles remained intact—if the exception was not about to become the rule—Campbell made no attempt to rescind the legislation, or to modify its purpose, he and his allies made the prescribed 10 per cent cut in pay. Compared to that, Dalton McGuinty's consequence-free overturning of similar legislation in Ontario.

Then, I think, the real message of Campbell's victory conversion politics is back. Big ideas, taking risks, sticking to your guns, all those things that had seemed too painful, as the season of intransigence, anyway, has not really faded in all that. You can run on major change, and win.

In reality, of course, since Campbell's carbon tax is the first such tax of any kind in North America (Quebec's is barely measurable), and among the most controversial in the world. Widely unpopular in first, and hardly believed today, it may not have been the cornerstone of his campaign, but it certainly was the NDP's. Yet it did not, in the

end, seal his defeat. It may even have helped him win.

Let's just pause on that first point: in next Canadian election, it seemed, bold was east. Whether it was John Tory's promise to fund religious schools in Ontario, or Stephen Harper's "green shift," or John le Jeune's reform, the public's answer in every case was no. You can put together the ad that the political process is filtering their clients don't do it. Don't say anything just right, and hope the other guys do first themselves.

Against this background, Campbell's victory is largely irrelevant. Isn't just that he won? It's how he won. On the surface, that is, Campbell's signature policy was something very like what Dan's proposed: a shift from taxing income to taxing carbon, with no revenue in taxes. But whereas Dan's plan was weighted down with exceptions, subsidies, and unrelated redistribution programs, Campbell's "green shift" was the real deal. Every dollar in carbon tax revenues was devoted to personal and corporate income taxes.

But it's the latter possibility that is the most intriguing: that Campbell may have won, not in spite of the carbon tax, but because of it. If his election comes in time to be seen as the watershed event in Canadian politics I think it is, it will be for this: that a right-leaning politician could claim ownership of the environmental issue, that he could stake out a leadership position, rather than simply following along the more established by government, and, crucially, that he could do so in ways that did not compromise or contradict his free market principles, but enhanced them.

Others have noted the disconnection Campbell's embrace of the carbon tax evoked the NDP's carbon attack throughout the campaign by a traditional environmentalists. Less expressed optics with the degree to which he was able to draw those kinds of voters to his own party. Simply put, Campbell has reinvented the conservative coalition. The old coalition, between economic libertarians (in the free-market camp) and social conservatives, was always an uneasy one: their interests and values were compatible at odds. But a coalition of free marketeers and conservatives alone is a more natural fit—if only conservatives could find it.

A whole generation of environmentalists have grown up who "get" the market, who understand its uses and strengths in for protecting society through individual choices. That, after all, is what the market does every day. Conventionally, this is understood in terms of efficiency: price signals lead each of us in economics in terms of scarce resources in such a way as to maximize the output of



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society. But it's just as applicable to economic concern like global warming. Indeed, the two problems—economic and ecological—are essentially the same. It's all about making choices.

A carbon tax simply expands the range of information those price signals convey, most pointing one clear course: that what has previously been thought off on the rest of society. There's an environmental "free-market ideology" which policy it's the fulfillment of. Indeed, having established the market's base line when it comes to the environment, Campbell may yet better bring forward solutions to other problems.

Campbell may well have pointed the way forward for conservative politics. He has broadened his base, not by going back on his conservative principles, but by dispelling his commitment to them. ■

ON THE WEB: For more Andrew Potter visit his blog at www.smusobey.ca/andrewpotter

Tax freedom? What a lot of rubbish.



ANDREW POTTER

What is it about something that makes some governments type go light-headed? As millions of Canadians from coast to coast were getting ready to celebrate the Victoria Day weekend by getting the courage, firing up the barbecue, or—crunching hockey, the Canadian Taxpayers Federation took the opportunity to declare May 14 "Gas Tax Freedom Day."

Designed to "kick off the summer travel season for Canadian motorists" by sending us to "the high and comfortable hills in the price of gasoline," this only annual holiday was concocted—according to CTF propaganda—"overnight" across the country. The highlight event was a joy ride down the Ashbridges Bay tunnel in Toronto that featured CTF director Kevin Criddle engaging in a race against his attorney as he released a report on gas taxes and... demanding that gas taxes be lowered.

Fun, banal, these libertarianism. Anyway, don't worry if you missed Gas Tax Freedom Day. In just a few weeks, the Fraser Institute will announce its always anticipated Tax Freedom Day, an annual reminder that market

the moment when Canadians have collectively "paid off the real tax bill imposed on them by government and can finally start working for themselves."

What these two holidays share is a rhetorical strategy designed to make taxation seem like something fundamentally alien, at odds with the interests of the average person. The underlying message is not that same taxes may be too high, or that the share of taxes we may be unreasonably fatigued. Instead, it is that all taxes are essentially unnecessary, an unfair and probably ignorant transfer of income to the state from its rightful owner, the private citizen.

It's all a house of cards, resting on a remiss premise that taxes the private sector as the producer of wealth, and the public sector as the consumer: what the corporation produces, the government acquires. Except, as University of Toronto philosopher Joseph Heath argues in his excellent book, *Pity the Poor*, people who produce will consume wealth. The market and the state each contribute—each in their own way—our production and consumption of that wealth. To put the point simply: the market is a device for providing us with private goods, like running shoes and mobile phones, while the state is there to provide us with public goods—like national defence and weekly garbage pickup.

Listening to the relentlessly shell-shocking rhetoric, you'd forget that any Canadian ever denied a single benefit from their tax dollars. An especially egregious example of this gung-ho was a pro-tax deadline release from the Fraser Institute in late April, which lamented the fact that today, the average Canadian family spends nearly half its total income on taxes—"more than it spends on food, clothing, and shelter."

At the heart of the study was an inviolate contrast with similar figures from 1961, when Canadians spent barely a third of their total income on taxes. As Neil Wilton, the study's co-author put it: "The tax burden faced by Canadians stands well beyond anyone's tax. When you add up all the taxes Canada puts at all levels of government, the typical family is spending more of its income in government taxes than it spends on basic necessities."

Only the Fraser Institute could see it as a bad thing that we spend less of our income on basic food and shelter than we used to. But if it's a reasonable concern you are after, why look only at the back in 1961? Today,

average North American spends about 10 percent of disposable incomes on food alone. In 1911 it was more like 25 percent.

Meanwhile, the study notes, since 1961 the amount that Canadians spend collectively providing ourselves with national defence and other forms of security, health insurance, unemployment insurance, pensions, clean air and water, consumer protection, infrastructure, research and education, and other public goods has decreased, increasing by 1,793 per cent per family.

The tax "freedom" isn't much lower than, say, in 1961. Sure, but so was life expectancy. Despite what the Fraser Institute wants you to think this is what is known in progress, and only in the future world functions of any tax collection could a society where families spend over half their income on private necessities be considered preferable to the one we have today.

As it happens, the closest analogue to street holidays like Gas Tax Freedom Day is the culture preceding Black Friday. Held each November on what is supposedly the busiest shopping day of the year in the U.S., this annual celebration of aka consumerism values induces participants to adopt a listing lifestyle commitment to consuming less stuff and producing less waste.

Buy Nothing Day doesn't make a lot of sense either, given the circumstances that for every consumer there must be a corresponding producer. Thus, Buy Nothing Day oughtas well be called "Earn Nothing Day"—though telling people with bills to pay to shop not on a day of week doesn't quite have the same power as a rallying cry.

Indeed, with its own display of populism and apocalyptic dispensation, the government right finds itself uncomfortably close to the left's market-left. Both are peddling economic half truths and outright lies in the service of their competing but ultimately more stringent ideologies.

The main difference of course is that while the left is generally expected to be economically efficient, the right is supposed to know better. Their latest economics, you might say. That is why, when it comes to the rhetoricslogistics of Canada's libertarians movement, it is hard to avoid concluding that the deepest is delusion. ■

ON THE WEB: For more Andrew Potter visit his blog at www.smusobey.ca/andrewpotter

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On May 15, Maclean's, in association with The Dominion Institute, (bottom left) and Presenting Sponsor Enbridge (bottom right), celebrated the 2009 Parliamentarians of the Year at a gala ceremony on Parliament Hill.



Left to right: Senator Jim Munro, Senator Diane Bellemare, Senator David Tkachuk



Left to right: Senator Art Eggleton, Senator Diane Bellemare, Senator David Tkachuk, Senator Jim Munro

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Harvard psychologist **Gene Heyman** on why drug or alcohol addiction is not a disease, but a matter of personal choice

A CONVERSATION WITH CHARLIE GILLIS

The idea that addiction is a disease is a central aspect in the study of drug and alcohol dependence, providing the foundation for much of the treatment and public policy related to addiction since the early 1970s. In a forthcoming book, psychologist **Gene Heyman**, a distinguished scholar of behavioural addiction, argues that addiction is *first and foremost governed by personal choice*, and that our therapeutic focus and conceptions of behaviourism silence Heyman's *less than resolute research on choice, cognition and drug use*. He has done volunteer work at a methadone clinic and he currently studies *causes on addiction* at Harvard University. In conversation with Maclean's correspondent Charlie Gillis, he offers a model of decision-making that he says explains how addicts—from cocaine to space waste—can voluntarily engage in activities that lead to long-term misery.

In other words, the kinds of things that influence all of our everyday decisions were influencing people who are heavy, heavy drug users to trap using. And it was so consistent. Each report supported the other.

Then I began looking at the epidemiological data—these large surveys that have followed the same for a lot of important psychiatric research in the last 20 years—and they showed the same thing. A huge percentage of people who had at some point met the criteria for lifetime substance dependence no longer did so by the time they were in their 40s. It varied from 60 to 80 per cent.

Q: So why does that preclude it from being a disease?

A: At the heart of the notion of behavioural disease is the idea of compulsion, by which people might be beyond the influence of reward, punishment, expectation, cultural values, personal values. Alan Leshner [the former head of the National Institute on Drug Abuse] says drug use starts off as voluntary and becomes involuntary. But the epidemiological evidence suggests otherwise. When you look at the longitudinal information, you see under-drug addicts [who've quit] saying,

data gave a very different picture than the one I expected. The normative outcome—people behave showed they stopped using the drugs, and that they did so because of family issues, or there was a choice between their children and continued drug use, or they were moving on in an environment where it was disengaged or.

In other words, the kinds of things that influence all of our everyday decisions were influencing people who are heavy, heavy drug users to trap using. And it was so consistent. Each report supported the other.

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measles or passing food on the table for my kids." Or "My life was getting out of control." Or, in the case of William S. Burroughs, "The changes from my parents stopped moving."

Q: Here, then, do we find that addiction is a disease governed by uncontrollable conditions like root?

A: The first people to call addiction a disease were members of the 17th century clergy. They were looking at alcoholics and they didn't describe it as an or as crime. I have a theory as to why they thought this—and why we think it even today: it's this problem we have with the idea that individuals can voluntarily do themselves harm. It just doesn't make sense to us. Why wouldn't you stop? In the medical world, as economists, in psychiatry and in the clergy, they really have no category for this; no way of explaining behaviour that is self-destructive and also voluntary. The only categories available to them are "sick" or "bad."

Q: With the scientific community behind it, the idea that addiction is a disease has also become the more enlightened person.

A: Yes, it seems a more humane thing to say and people like to be humane.

Q: At the centre of your argument is data on the number of people who end up in treatment clinics. Why is that problematic?

A: It's problematic because 60 to 70 per cent of the time, those people have additional psychiatric disorders. And those disorders interfere with their capacity to engage in activities that would compete with the

drugs—juice, family, other activists. So the people the clinicians see, and the people the researchers study, are those who keep using drugs and don't stop right into their 40s. That's maybe 10 to 20 per cent of [addicts], and they have greatly skewed our picture of the natural history of addiction. From the drug users, or folks like most people who never do addiction, we get a distorted view.

Why would respected and established scientists suddenly gravitate towards a dependency based on such a small subset?

A: For though a lot about this, and my sense is that that reflects in what people believed before they started studying. It squares nicely with that notion that addiction was either bad behaviour or bad behaviour I don't think this too hard. I mean, everybody knows that clinical populations can be biased. There's even a name for it—the bias bias. People who come to clinics for a certain disorder are likely to self refer from additional disorders.

Q: Still, the broader question is, if society you are less likely to accept for anyone who can't do it. Why do you think they were

biased? Well, I only looked at this data because I was teaching this course. I felt I had to. If you're disregarding looking at, say, cancer, or cardiovascular disease, you have to much to do that you're not going to start reading the epidemiological literature. You don't start reading your world more difficultly. But in the end, I do think it's reasonable, and one of the goals of my book is to bring the research world's attention to data that has been ignoring them for so long. In some cases, the data didn't fit in with what the people who sponsored the surveys say addiction is. The National Institute on Drug Abuse and National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism funded all the studies I cite. But NIDA and NIAAA have not taken the message of those studies to heart.

Q: Let's talk about the rate of relapse/maintenance. Your argument depends on the idea that a person can voluntarily regate as a human being that is self-destructive. Can you explain that phenomenon?

A: My analysis is based on the first. There are always two "lets" ways to make choices. We can take into consideration the value it has at the moment—the immediate rewards. Or we can consider the risk of each of the consequences of drug use are what's important. There is one for saline pilots and physicians where the success rates are 60 or 90 per cent, whereas, because the negative consequences are so serious [if they fail to abstain], the addicts lose these let's.

I'm asking only the intermediate demands of working, dropping every other consideration. But he ends up, according to himself and everybody else is had been working too much. The model just tries to formalize that idea, and it's really just common sense.

So when people are choosing the drug, they're thinking that tomorrow, or that next day, would be better if they did. A chronic user would think that the next three months would be better with a cigarette than without. But after a year of smoking 30 cigarettes a day, adding up to 60 minutes each day, you might think, "I'd rather have the 60 minutes of not smoking each day." Unfortunately, you don't choose tomorrow at a time. You decide one cigarette or five cigarettes at a time, and that's what makes this so difficult.

Q: So as we get older are drawn to吸烟者 than our seniors, and weigh them against younger drug users against our seniors.

All right. Your preferences as a researcher are different from what I'd call a global perspective, and they can undermine that global perspective. That's why I'm actually in favour of drug establishment research. Many of these programs help get people through the very difficult periods of choosing things at the moment, one at a time.

Q: Your tour is over and you're going to be returning. And there are disappointments to all the time you're spending ideas that have had a worldwide currency after the First World War. Our governments spend billions each year training and trying to prevent drug abuse in the belief it is a disease. Are we going about it all wrong?

A: My sense is that we could be going about it all wrong. It's possible that the reason we're increasing drug programs is that we're not creating decisions making directly. These are programs that have had considerable success, and they are based on the idea that the consequences of drug use are what's important. There is one for saline pilots and physicians where the success rates are 60 or 90 per cent, whereas, because the negative consequences are so serious [if they fail to abstain], the addicts lose these let's.

It's harder where the subjects are given

played, but again it points out the fact that this is a question of abstinence. If programs focused on alternatives, consequences and rewards in a more direct way, maybe they'll be much more efficient and less expensive.

Q: How might such a program work?

A: There are wonderful programs that reward abstinence with rewards tolerable for most people. In some cases the rewards allow addicted people to do everyday things like take a walk or go to a movie.



AAA has been notorious in research circles for two reasons. One is because of the emphasis on its language (or lack thereof)—"God grant me the power," and so on. The other is that they have not been well interested in thinking how well they do. I don't know whether they're into research, but they've done nothing to measure their reward. In the last few years, people have been able to get some data, and it shows they're at least as good as any other program. Personally, I think AA has actually developed a program that does exactly what we've discussed. It rewards abstinence. You know somebody gets up and says, "My name is Ralph. I haven't had a drink for three weeks," and everybody claps. It also creates a social life that is alcohol free.



'Calling addiction a sickness seems a more humane thing to say, and people like to be humane'

in buying household goods—any neutral, healthy, non-addictive activity that most people do on their own. Likewise, this is a population of people who don't seem able to do these things on their own. So when these programs are placed in front of them, they get engaged. In at least one of these studies, the abstinence rate continued to rise even after the voucher program stopped. That suggests that programs the addicts have gotten involved with—outdoor activities, and programs to help them get along better with their friends—begin to take on a life of their own. Just as there can be a downward spiral, there can be an upward spiral.

Q: What about AA and other 12-step programs? They seem oriented around creating alternatives to life than compete with the rewards of life.

One of the biggest fears for skeptics is that they won't have a social life, that their social life is embedded in the consumption of alcohol. AA creates a social alternative that involves no models and sponsors, and those are people who get up and talk who are like them and have stopped drinking.

Q: The other approach, of course, is to just encourage drug use and punishment, and I could tell your argument being used justify tightening drug laws or harsher drug policies against users. I mean, if we're talking about consequences, isn't that a fairly perverse intent?

A: I think it's a matter of degree. I mean, how around do the consequences need to be? For most people, the idea of going to jail is harsh, and while I haven't studied across legal law for drug use, my hunch is that they would make sense from that perspective to be.

used, no punishment means and hasn't gone into illegal can make a big difference.

Q: So this is how to get tough. No, but that's going to be a terrible book, what should the consequences be? There's a trade-off. I think everybody would have agreed that if you reduce the consequences—let's say we regulated heroin and cocaine the way we do alcohol and alcohol—expansion would go up, and the price would probably go down. We don't know what the exact consequences of that would be, but usually expansion and inflation go hand in hand.

Q: We should probably make a separate discussion here. While you call abstinence a "choice of choice," you also stress that now it choices to be an addict. What do you mean by that?

A: That you're thinking these choices are they at a time. What you're choosing is to take heroin that day. You're not choosing to have a miserable life. Eventually, you become sick, though, where you don't know what else to do but choose heroin each day, even though you with it doesn't lead to a miserable life. You know, I've always thought it strange that people would think we should not have sympathy for those kinds of nations. In modern society, it is so easy to do things that you will later regret, whether we're talking about something like religious beliefs, have a hobby, etc. So people are going to say, also, that voluntary behaviours are not biological and involuntary ones are biological. It's just that they have a different setting, and the wiring for voluntary ones are more complex. The neurons are influenced by consequences as well as by preceding biological conditions. Genetics plays a big role in voluntary behaviors, but our brains are wired so that certain activities can be influenced by rewards and punishments.

Q: You must be expecting some pushback from other addiction researchers.

A: I worry about that immensely. A lot of the people I work with and they're my friends, so I don't know how that's going to play out.

But I've written articles that have been published that are very much along this line, and there are behavioral economists and some people who run addiction programs who are very supportive. I think the sort of the addiction world has just ignored it, in academic and scientific, people just tend to ignore that which they disagree with, unless they're forced to confront it.

supposedly disappears?

A: Yes, and I think those things can be pretty important. In the U.S., when the surgeon general's report came out in 1964 saying smoking was bad for your health, it had an impact. Everybody knew it couldn't be good for you, but when it became official, people suddenly began to stop smoking. So those are the sort of things that would have to consider [regarding self-injection sites], you would have to weigh them against the public health advantages, still think it would be a very bad decision. It would take a long time to get enough data, and I'm not sure the data would ever be good enough to provide the right answer. That would leave people in a moral judgment to make.

Q: You explore issues in this book that are philosophical almost philosophical, in nature. The material commonly you point out doesn't apply words like "moralistic" or "compassionate" with much consistency. Just how far can one go in one's understanding of these ideas?

A: I hope my book makes my colleagues in research, as well as the public, that we can talk about things like "voluntary" and "involuntary" behaviour in ways that are sensible. We can test whether the behaviour is modified by its consequences.

Q: Your book gives theory—the idea that behaviors like drug dependence are determined by biology—simplified that down?

A: There was an initial dark period. The initial impulse was to say that anything that is inadmissible to be human is voluntary—that everything is a disease. But we're gradually moving away from that towards ones that clearly voluntary, like religious beliefs, have a hobby, etc. So people are going to say, also, that voluntary behaviours are not biological and involuntary ones are biological. It's just that they have a different setting, and the wiring for voluntary ones are more complex. The neurons are influenced by consequences as well as by preceding biological conditions. Genetics plays a big role in voluntary behaviors, but our brains are wired so that certain activities can be influenced by rewards and punishments.

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Q: There's also the matter of putting the responsibility of government or individual on

TAKING AIM AT IGNATIEFF

The first shot in the coming Tory war to define their opponent

BY AARON WHERRY • In the coded language of Ottawa, they may know as 9011s, it's a reference to Standing Order 31 of Parliament, which allows that 15 minutes be set aside before question period each day for MPs to read in the House and make brief remarks about a subject of their choosing. For the most part, we often use the time to make announcements, celebrate charitable causes, mourn sad occasions or pontificate on matters of national or international importance.

When they stalled Stephen Dion to kick around, the Conservative government took great pleasure in mocking the former Liberal leader before he rose to ask another well-worthwhile question of the Prime Minister. And though they waited a few days before doing likewise with Dion's successor, a steady succession of Conservative backbenchers has been lined up to denigrate Michael Ignatieff or his party since he took the leadership this year. Indeed, despite an attempt recently by the Speaker to limit personal attacks during this time, government MPs have used more than 180 of these statements to needle the Liberal side in the 12 weeks since Parliament returned yesterday—seemingly complicit in this reached a particular low when Ron Galarneau rose on the afternoon of April 20 and attempted to segue from a pending statement of condolence by Liberal Senator Bernadine about the deadly Italian earthquake.

"Me Speaker, I had no confidence in the folks in Italy. Our prayers and thoughts go out to all those in Italy," Galarneau said. "But there is an earthquake happening in our own country. I would like to remind Canadians what the Liberal leader said on April 14, just last week, and I quote, 'We will have to tone down.' A day later, the Conservative MP stood in the House, apologized for his remarks and added, "The concern we did not explore further is it would only serve to prolong the pain of those who have lost loved ones."

By such methods, the launch last week of a new Conservative advertising campaign arrived at an off-the-record briefing conducted by two of the Prime Minister's spokesmen, though both claimed to be on-the-day issues from their government duties—was relatively general. But as television and the internet, the Conservatives seemed to make



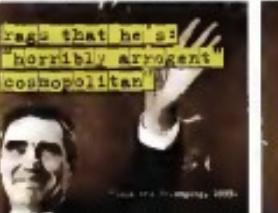
HARPER'S TONES were notably successful in deriding Ignatieff; they may prove more difficult,

the myriad questions about Ignatieff's rapaciousness and blarney difficult to ignore. And where those 9011s might be dismissed, a more problematical breakaway, Michael Ignatieff now faces a legitimate set of barbs and his party's ability to defend his image.

"The barbs he's just emitted, that's the tag line that the guys want to focus on," says Tom Powers, a political strategists who has worked with the Conservatives in the past. "That's arrogant and he has absolutely puffed up an entire staff and not in motion. And I think the criticism is, whether you like the Prime Minister or not, when you compare him to Ignatieff, you do at least know he's interested in Canada, he's spent his whole life wanting to engage public policy here and Ignatieff is about himself. I think that's of real concern and non-Canadian-like behaviour at some-

point after separation were installed on the coming boardroom table, I guess I'd make a little attempt at retorting to say, 'On a day when we have got record book sales, we have got an employment rate exceeding all the government's goals, I think it's a reasonable attack ad, not,' he adds rhetorically. "This is old-style politics. We are on the cusp of a serious economic crisis. This government needs to grow up and do its job properly." A day later, he broadened his caustic attack at a speech in Toronto, taking specific aim at the suggestion that he has outside Canada says something about his commitment to the country. "Like many Canadians, I've seen our country from the outside. As a writer, as a teacher, as a tour operator, I've seen Canada from afar. And when you see Canada from afar—when you see our spunk and our purpose and our strength—you see a country that is proud of its diversity, that is strong and rooted in its diversity, that is an inspiration to the whole world," he said. "Stephen Harper doesn't understand that."

Having spoken in lofty tones about unity when he officially accepted the Liberal leadership thumbnail, Ignatieff finds for the moment, a convenient display of aggression with which



THE ATTACK ADS ARE JUST 'THE TIP OF THE ICEBERG,' SAYS ONE TORY. IGNATIEFF HAS A LONG PAPER TRAIL OF REMARKS TO USE.

to contrast himself. But then this is still a fight on Harper's terms. "Certainly I've heard from certain friends that don't like the ads. They think that they are a little unfairly in a manner they don't take comfort from because they sort of question his alleged Canadianism," Powers says. "But when they tell us they're upset, that means they're actually thinking about it too. I think the ads force people to think a lot about who Michael Ignatieff is." Jim Flaherty, Ignatieff's press secretary, considers the utility of attack ads to be considerably less dramatic. "The more time you spend talking about attack ads, the less time you spend talking about the government and what they are

doing or not doing."

And so the war remains with the Liberals. Their brother says they'll use the internet to counter the Conservative campaign. Television ads may follow, though the Liberals may still refuse from personally attacking the Prime Minister. "I think for the most part, our advertisements probably have to have some bite to them," Powers says. "Part of the thing with these ads is they are partisan reinforce media vehicles. So if Ignatieff wants to signal to his party that he is not Dope and that he is attacking Eric and strong and wants to reinforce his own strengths, then they need to do something."

MacLennan will depend on igniting himself. Whether he has experienced it in life to date, he has perhaps never been publicly challenged. The way he responds will ultimately be the focus. "Will he play type?" Powers asks. "That's the effectiveness of any communications campaign. You're creating a narrative, and the success of the narrative is based on the behavior and performance of its central character."

An early preview of a formal enquiry may be the official authentication or even knowledge of Ignatieff's various indiscretions. "It has been an advantage to the Liberal leader," says MacLennan. "We will have to raise that," Conservative Greg Fildes reported to the House last week, referencing a speech Ignatieff was expected hypothetically. "Could the government please tell Canadians if it believes the Liberal leader has a secret plan to none?" To respond, the government set up Prime Minister's parliamentary secretary.

"Me Speaker, during his 34 years in the United States and the United Kingdom, the Liberal leader became a very distinguished warthog. I commend him for his words and I quote them: 'We will do whatever it takes to prevent you from taking a GST off the table' or 'I am a hellish spender, I'm a socialist, I'm a Liberal.' He is always with words/pens/paper/his and his son's of course complete him to ingrate which makes he will rise, by much and who will have to pay?"

Though at first easily brushed by such displays, Ignatieff has sealed on laughing at the ligged indignation. At the risk of appearing arrogant, he may stand such confidence. Because just as the latest ads are hardly the sum of the campaign's aspirations, they rarely don't represent the era. ■

Slicing through the fog of Airbus

The man who grilled Mulroney has a history of finding the truth

BY JOHN CONNELL • The contrast between Brian Mulroney and Richard Wilson, the lawyer who questioned the former prime minister in the public inquiry into his dealings with German industrialist Helmut Scherber, could hardly have been starker. Mulroney was a portrait of weary, wounded dignity. Every compact, composed as it was, he seemed threatened to leap the proceedings by a winding road to a dead end. Wilson was a study in tenacity and focus. His blunt questions came with minimal preamble, and, although courteous in a curt way, he didn't hesitate to owl-shoot a logo-bruiser litigious digression not far above, "Stop there."

Reckoned their verbal styles, the two men's physical presence offered striking juxtapositions, too. Mulroney, 70, sometimes looked drowsy; his dark hair was thin and receding, with the rich undertones of irony and sarcasm that once made him such a meeting Pointe-aux-Monts. Wilson, 61, carried himself with a curled energy. Aside from his distinct no-nonsense—less a head of hair than a hawk's crest of quills—the closest he comes to a thematic quality is when his parchment-thin lips voice uplifts from dogged to intense.

The two men have burnable issues in common. Mulroney famously rose fast, his upbringing in Baie-Comeau, Que., electrician's son, through Laval University law school, to 24 Senate Dr., and post-political friendships with corporate titans. Wilson grew up in Whapmagoostui, a North End, Moosonee-type town where he was a young teenager. He says his mother, a store clerk, gave him "great guidance" but no lessons. "We never avoided a home or anything like that," he told Maclean's. "Whatever was food on the table."

Wilson graduated from the University of Manitoba law school in 1973. His climb to prominence in Whapmagoostui as a defense lawyer led to four years working in public inquiries. His hometown people pealed when he was the lead lawyer on a 1984 inquiry into the wrongful conviction of Thomas Sophonow,

who spent 45 months in jail for a murder he did not commit. Wilson's Sophonow cross-examination work led directly to Justice Jeffrey Oliphant, of Manitoba's Court of Queen's Bench, reprimanding him for his inquiry into Mulroney's relationship with Scherber.

Oliphant hasn't yet been publicly named to head the commission when he called Wilson last June. When the judge told him what he was proposing, Wilson recalls being "flobbed and overwhelmed." The federal

there's a certain disease for the mouth's unfeeling state. In a telling exchange, Wilson pointed a question at some old newspaper articles about Mulroney's son, with Scherber with a rare personal aside: "You know," he said, "I don't have an affinity for the media myself." And Mulroney bristles in "Timidity to have that—How you, and it's compensated?" Asked about that moment, Wilson said he respects the press. But his Winnipeg law partner, Jeffrey Gurn, said he suspects Wilson was expressing the typical defence lawyer's padded view, shaped by long frustration over superficial news accounts of complicated criminal trials.

Wilson's trial-honed edge broke through only now and then during the inquiry hearings. He grew easily annoyed by Mulroney's



'EVERY QUESTION, EVERY ANSWER IS IN THE SPOTLIGHT. MY JOB IS TO GET TO THE TRUTH OF MATTERS.'

commentary was bound to arrive far more national scrutiny than any criminal or political inquiry. With three senior and four junior lawyers working for him (including his daughter Sarah), Wilson spent months preparing for this spring's hearings. At issue were three case payments Scherber gave Mulroney soon after he stepped down as prime minister in 1993 and 1994 (representing "Every question, every answer," Wilson says, "in the spotlight").

In fact, Wilson and Mulroney seem to

refuse to admit that he was less than transparent back in 1996, when he sold federal lawyers that his relationship with Scherber amounted to "a couple of cups of coffee." Mulroney insisted he didn't mention the cash fund because a pointed question about his deal with Scherber "never came." Wilson finally tripped that the question "never came because no one knew about it."

He stresses, however, that his job at the inquiry is not "adversarial"—not to bring Mulroney down. "My job is to probe the issues," he says, "to get to the truth of matters." If he's judged guilty or innocent, then Mulroney's name will go down as much as a favorite in the history of one of Canada's longest-running political scandals.



The show is marking a fine legacy, and the Hall of Fame is looking good at the time

the former Vancouver Sun columnist and fraud MP who was indicted in 1997. "It looks very sturdy. The idea of honouring the most important credit I have in my life."

No one can argue its sentimental. When asked about the missing laurels and the lack of new members, former Maclean's editor Peter C. Newman (also of 1988) actually chuckled. "That's a great story," he says. "It is a sign of our disappearing culture." Newman hasn't thought about the Hall of Fame—or his place in it—for many years. He doesn't even know where it is. But since we're asking, he does believe the exhibit deserves a more prominent home. "I don't think it's going to happen, but it would be nice to think so," he says. "You've got to get somebody to put some money into it, and who is going to do that? It's not going to be the publishers, because they don't have any money. And it's not going to be the journalists—what do you do?"

Ed Parikh is still searching for the magic answer. But to be fair, the Hall of Fame is not the only worry. The Toronto Press Club has fallen seriously behind (membership has dropped to 125, from 300 in 1970) in the mid-1980s and as of today, the club does not even have a working clubhouse. "We're back in the same situation that we've been in so many times in our history: out on the street and looking for somewhere to hang our hats," he says. "We don't even have a park bench."

"That last basement—former bank vault—was reported to be the club's headquarters, but the arrangement didn't last. The members chased out of it mind a couple of years ago and decided to use the room as a banquet hall for private functions. The Press Club was out, but the Hall of Fame was allowed to stay. In other words, if you borrowed it for a cocktail party in that room, you'd see the display. If not, you'd have to do what Maclean's did last week, and rearrange it outside the door."

"We would like to move it to room 106—we have a good place to put it, but our prospectus of finding new premises are either dim at the moment," Parikh says. "We are waiting for a while longer to come along and say, 'We got those wonderful pieces downtown where possibly the Canadian News Hall of Fame and people can come and visit it.' We haven't found anything yet."

Nobody has found those missing letters yet, either. ■

NO NEWS HERE

Our News Hall of Fame hasn't inducted anyone since 2001

BY MICHAEL FRASSOLANTI • Canada's News Hall of Fame (just, this year, a thing) is a collection of engraved plaques shaped like eight quotation marks. The location has changed quite a few times over the years, but these days the wall display can be found hanging in a small hotel room downtown Toronto in the basement. In a room that is locked most of the time, even if someone did happen to stumble across the exhibit, he would have a tough time figuring out exactly what it is. The sign, CANADIAN NEWS HALL OF FAME, is missing a few letters.

It reads: CANADIAN NEWS ALL OF FAKE.

Something else is sorely lacking, however: the inductees. Who is supposed to be the voice of the country's mass media and respected reporters—names like George Simonds, Jim Cartwright, Johnnie Noobs, and Austin "Duke" Carroll? Has not an inductee ever been "One precious journalist who don't take no seriously," says Peter Whittington, founder of the Toronto Sun cabool andbara and a Hall of Famer? "But I do think it's a pity. We all know people in this business who are somewhat special, and the trouble is when they die or are gone, they're forgotten."

At least when the entire news business is suffering—circulation is nose-diving, ad revenues are plummeting, and local newscasts are dying—perhaps it's only fitting that the

WHO HESITATES STILL GETS PAID

"The [Chinese] bank told me it was cash in response to hesitation that I received.... When I knew it, I knew it wasn't a choice... I hesitated because I personally felt that this was unusual...Former prime minister [John] Howard had a bit of a speech and implying that he hesitated didn't take it past [Australian foreign minister] Alexander Downer before accepting [his] explanation that he was an astute Australian businessman who dealt only in cash."

BORDERLINE BREAKDOWN

Border security is still a very sore point in Canada-U.S. relations

BY LISA GIL SAVAGE • The greatest test of whether the election of President Barack Obama will really repair the strains in Canada-U.S. relations goes underway this month when the secretary of homeland security, Janet Napolitano, comes to town. The iron iteration of land border security over the last eight years came to symbolize the toxic relations between Ottawa and the Bush administration. The slavish focus on bioterrorism, frontier firewalls, and gateway to \$1.6 billion in trade per day, turned into another front in the war on terror, patrolled by new armed guards and automated drivers, replete with new regulations that banished complaints of up trade, and so, on June 1, a passport requirement for the first time. From the Canadian point of view, it was the work largely of an overzealous American administration and Congress taking a series of unilateral actions. "The previous critique was that no additional steps that could be taken should be taken without regard for trade," Public Safety Minister Peter Van Loan told *Maclean's*. Like many Canadians, he hopes that will change under Obama. "Now we want to focus an agency that is actually effective, and addresses real security threats—counterterrorism, the drug trade, organized crime, smuggling issues—and we want to find ways to improve the flow of goods across the border."

But from the U.S. point of view, the last eight years looked rather different. The world changed on 9/11, and Americans and Canadians reacted with then-Paul Roberston, a former senior Department of Homeland Security official who worked on border issues under George W. Bush, dramatically refers to as "a different sense of urgency." He sees Ottawa and Washington still struggling to resolve their differences under Obama as they did under Bush. "One of the things I've learned is that there is this myth that Canadians and Americans are at odds like we view things like trade and terrorism." Referring and, in an interview, "And they simply are not." Where Canadians see U.S. unilateralism, Americans see Canadian complacency. On both sides, there was an erosion of trust. Can it be rebuilt? "My answer to Secretary Napolitano," says Robertson, "would be to explore how much of an opportunity to achieve common objectives with Canada was the product of political issues relating to the Bush administration—and how much of it was fundamental."

Over those eight years, officials, analysts, and business groups in both countries have long rallied about border security efforts away from land-based checkpoints to making each other protect the outer edges of North America, known as "perimeter security" or "synchrophism." But for all the talk,

the border has grown ever "thinner," and problems have been tackled spottily. Early indications are that the situation is unlikely to change. Van Loan, who met with Napolitano on March 16 in Washington, has modest expectations. "There is an overly ambitious grand plan because that simply would not fit right now," he says. "If one wanted to do a perimeter approach I don't think that's an option for us on the side on the American side. We're looking to make more efficient efforts that would not compromise security. We are trying to find ways to make the border work better."

Roberston, though, argues that the app-



JANET NAPOLITANO got off to a rough start as Obama's secretary of homeland security.

for a North American mission has always been close on the American side—but Canada would play ball. One case in point, he says, is the issue of cruise ships. Nearly three years ago, DHS identified "general aviation"—the movement of small, private jets around the world—as a greater threat. The theory was that Osama bin Laden may hold a nuclear weapon, it would be far too valuable to stuff into a cargo plane and load enough fuel over which he would lose control forward and cross the seas, vulnerable to diversion, bad weather, or even piracy. A more logical step, DHS reasoned, would be to load the lethal cargo onto a private plane piloted by a sensible recruit, and, for example, fly a flight plan to [Khartoum, thousands of miles from] Marathon on route.

With that plan in mind, the officials were daunted to see that few of the controls in place for commercial aircraft could fit power planes. Airlines

both, however, and Canada got the opportunity to sell changing and Clinton to the USIS who passed through. "It was winter, we'll all know," he says.

The Canadian reaction was mixed; some officials expressed concern, but others changed and no decisions were taken. Now, three years later, the fact remains being held without Canadian participation. Eventually DHS will have to turn to the question of what to do about small plane flights from Canada, potentially throwing up yet another layer of inactivity within North America. Perhaps nothing embodies the difference in views as much as the passport rule that takes effect on June 1. From the Canadian perspective, Canada is blighted by the visa waiver, under which adults entering the U.S. must photo or a passport or "enhanced" biometric travel (biometric) was stuck to a lengthy intelligence reform bill in 2005 and, at price, also surprised many members of Congress from border states who, like officials at the Canadian Embassy, argued of disruptions to tourism, trade and the lifestyle.



was no methodical screening of small planes or their cargo, nor a security check of pilots. They prepared a constellation of screening points for small planes. Those approaching the U.S. from Europe and the Middle East would stop for refueling and screening in Shannon, Ireland. Other screening points would be located in Bermuda and in Asia. Setting to prepare uncharted passage between Canada and the U.S. (and recognizing that since in North America it would be unlikely that a plane would pick up radar signals (radar), the government, with then-DHS chief Michael Chertoff's blessing, approached Canadian officials about participating. The Americans would provide the technological equipment Canada would supply a few custom agents to clear the flights for passage to Canada. The

Many fear that the U.S. plans to start treating the Canadian border much like they do the Mexican

of border communities. But perhaps that need not come in such a surprise. The end of passport-free travel within North America was explicitly mentioned on page 180 of the bipartisan 2001 commission report that came out in July 2000. And at DHS, it was a no-brainer. The spectacle of border officials extorting using different levels of demands—from drivers' license to birth certificates and even baptismal documents—seemed

so belong in an earlier, more innocent age. But Canadian officials were concerned that the costs of outfitting American and Canadian borders with passports would dominate cross-border tensions—and undermine what the potential coalition and confrontation over the new rule would do to wait until the border Michael Chertoff, Canada's ambassador, along with border state lawmakers, argued hard to have the implementation deadline delayed until June 1. The right of a Canadian ambassador aggressively lobbying against a rule change struck some at DHS as inappropriate—the kind of thing that would have raised levels of outrage if the situation had been reversed. The Americans thought Canadians should have accepted the new reality much sooner and been more creative in finding a more workable solution, at the very least leaning on the idea of security-enhanced driver's documents introduced by BC, and a handful of border states.

Although erosion was a few concessions—including an exemption for children—there could still be further tension ahead as the new committee of legislators, while DHS has long maintained it is ready to implement the new program, Canadian officials and others are not so confident of American goodness. New York Rep. Louise Slaughter predicts "pure chaos" if Van Loan says he expects to a "principled, flexible approach," rather than a new tolerance policy for anyone attempting to cross without a passport. "These are vicious things you can do—obviously not holding everyone to strict rules on June 1," he says. "But [the decision] is an opportunity to educate travellers and use our information to convince yourself of your identity."

N ospolis is expected to visit Canada on May 26-27 just days before observe passport requirements take effect, making stops in Ottawa and at the Detroit-Windsor border crossing. When his appointment was first announced, it caused hope among Canadian officials and interest groups that a new era was dawning. His predecessor, Chertoff, was a career judge who headed the criminal division of the Justice Department during 9/11. His replacement was seen as a change from his predecessor, Tom Ridge, the former Pennsylvania governor. While Ridge was seen as conservative and law-and-order, Chertoff appeared to apply law down the line. Van Loan, who has been a prosecutor (like Ridge, he was a governor, in his case of Arizona, which shares a border with Mexico).

request for detailed information about a border car with which she was unfamiliar, but it was spin into headlines suggesting she planned a terrorist slowdown. Next, the government issues a speech to the media suggesting that she believed the 9/11 terrorists came from Canada. She flew to the metropolis. (Van Loon notes the secretary was fully aware that the terrorists did not come from Canada because they had

Refugee policy is just part of a gulf between Canada and the U.S. on their approach to border issues



VAN LOON expects only "incremental gains" in efficiency

discussed this in "what might" they had to fight and blazed her comment on a leading question.) But, last, Napolitano made headlines yesterday at a conference on border policy at the Brookings Institution in Washington, referring to a political environment in which she is positioned to meet both the Canadian and Mexican borders with "some party"—a construct that was misinterpreted as implying herself one of the equals.

Napolitano's spokeswoman declined an interview request. Despite the tense beginning, Van Loon says that he and Napolitano have already made two breakthroughs. They have committed to meeting twice each year to discuss the border—outside of any other events that they may also attend. They have also committed to looking for ways to share resources and manage the border together. For example, a joint police project that could connect U.S.-Canadian law patrols of shared seawayways could become permanent. "The high-level meeting we had will allow us to start our co-operation or approaches to security and facilitating trade," Van Loon says. "We

didn't have that kind of mechanism before and that I think is a very positive step."

Nonetheless, there remains a huge gulf between how Canada and the U.S. treat people and goods coming North America, one that will remain problematic regardless of how many meetings we hold with the secretary of DHS. A big area of difference is airfare policy. There is a perception in Washington that Canadian customs rules are too lax, although Canadian officials say they are not more permissive; each country admits roughly the same proportion of applicants—the big difference is what happens when they arrive. In the U.S., asylum seekers are routinely detained until their cases are decided. In Canada, they are rarely detained, and are allowed to work and receive benefits while their cases are handled. They are also given more opportunities to appeal deportation orders. An inspector general's report in 2001 found that many of those found to be deportable disappeared or were removed from the country. (Alfredo Lopez, the Mexican "mafia liaison officer" expanded cross-border to the U.S. with explosives in 1999, was one such case.)

Canada has been tried to steadily that, but this is little interest in adopting the draconian heavy U.S. model, which is criticized by some human rights advocates. The two countries also differ on which countries enjoy visa-free travel status. Canada allows visa-free travel for more than 50 countries, including many Commonwealth nations, while the U.S. list has just 15 countries. Citizens of Mexico, Costa Rica and Greece, for example, can enter Canada, but not America, without visa. There is little expectation that the differences will be bridged. "I would say that they don't have an appetite for negotiating with us," says Van Loon. "We do have concern with what may have this-line result. [We are going to adopt the American] [and say]. We are going to develop our policy with Canada's national interests in mind."

Another gap between the two nations is their approach to gathering information from people who intend to enter either country from abroad. The U.S. has invested a lot of money and manpower since 1984 in collecting information about travellers before they arrive in the U.S.—the Jan. 12, the U.S. brought in a new program called ETS (Electronic System for Travel Authorization), which requires people coming from countries that

do not require visas, such as European Union nations, to fill out an electronic travel authorisation 72 hours before coming to the U.S. Their series is then compared to repeated terrorist lists; only after they're cleared can they board a plane, and when the travel-ban lists become available all 10 fingerprints are collected. Canada does not require pre-authorization for travellers, nor does it collect much information about them, and it does not fingerprint them. Canadian officials say that they are "borrowing" or "copying" the American system, but they would require a large investment and would raise all kinds of legal and privacy issues, especially if the information was to be shared with the U.S.

In one potential bright spot, Van Loon says Napolitano made a written commitment to reopen talks about setting up post-deportation facilities for commercial goods at the land border to move customs inspections off the actual physical border to make the crossing more efficient. A major issue for Canadians and U.S. business groups, it was sharpened by the Bush administration's push because the two countries could not reach an agreement about whether U.S. officials operating on Canadian soil would have the authority to fingerprint people intending to enter the U.S. but then decide to turn around and not cross. "We haven't settled on a particular pilot project," Van Loon says. "The Americans are open to looking at where the Bush administration had closed the door."

But while the negotiations will spur over the issue of fingerprinting, the consensus in DHS is that greater DHS lawyers worked about reducing U.S. pre-deportation activities on Canadian soil to Canada's Criminal Rights and Freedoms and argued little for public interpretations of it. For example, while the pre-deportation negotiations were going on, a B.C. provincial court judge ruled in 2007 that border guards in Canada would require a search warrant before opening a truck. Although that was overturned, it greatly alarmed U.S. officials about subjecting their personnel to Canadian law. In addition, van Loon knows she is under way in U.S. court seeking to limit the powers of American border agents, and DHS data has been to be seen voluntarily giving up power to Canada so that it is argued its U.S. assets are essential enough. Napolitano will have to make such things clear if pre-clearance is to go ahead.

What's left is more negotiation in no gain-ing value for the teams—but perhaps an opportunity to slowly rebuild some of the trust that eroded during the Bush era. And maybe even an agreement one day on small planes. "That is an interesting idea," said Van Loon of the mid-air refueling plan under consideration in Ireland. "We are still examining it."

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WHEN K CAME TO AMERICA

Nikita Khrushchev's 1959 visit was a Cold War comic interlude

BY BRIAN BETRINE • History, as Karl Marx's famous dictum would have it, is too poised to be tragedy first time around, a legend arising when once only its repeat occurs. Hard then to say what the dour Marx might have made of his high-spirited fellow Comrade Nikita Khrushchev and his 1959 tour across America. As described in journalists'

by the threat of retaliation. And far worse than the entirety had a sense of humor.

The visit mustache outlined a serious event when first prepared. Khrushchev, who had shrewdly accumulated supreme power in the USSR since the death of Joseph Stalin in 1953, may or may not have been amenable to his predecessor. Nonetheless, he was devoid of diplomatic skills ("We will bury you"), thin-skinned, and ever ready to remind foreigners he had nuclear missiles in his back and cold. His would be the first-ever visit of a Soviet leader to America, and the prospect that he and U.S. president Dwight Eisenhower might meet face to face only to repeat incisive history, to say what the dour Marx might have made of his high-spirited fellow Comrade Nikita Khrushchev and his 1959 tour across America. As described in journalists'

chev managed to get stuck in a New York elevator, spooked media mutinies. San Francisco's vice minister and his Iowa-as-refugee, a glib Stanley MacLaine on the set of *Cam-Cam*, and those of Hollywood untiringly baying demands access to Disneyland. That's the particular cohort explored in *Khrushchev's Ride*, taken from a newspaper headline—copy editors had great difficulty both in spelling "Khrushchev" and in doing it was the space available, "K" and even "Krusch" often stood in for it.

Now all the visit provided an uproar. After cowering his files, FBI director J. Edgar Hoover revealed that 32,000 Americans wanted to kill Khrushchev. Still, plenty of officers warned him to drop by instead the family, stay for supper—see, as the chief would have it, the real America, and thereby learn to love it. Tennessee senator Miles Kilgore quoted the Grand Ole Opry, an Atlantic City hotel a filmed free use of its penthouse ("two beds, two chairs and a Japanese housekeeper"), the Apple Festival Parade in La Crescent, Minn. Javur Khrushchev is deep by "If you would like to eat a flea," the festival chairman wrote him, "please let me know." Louis Armstrong thought "Mr. K" might like a jazz club. "He's a cat, man," Stashoff told a reporter, "a human being like anybody else."

Eventually the absent intent settled on Washington. When周恩来 was dinner, New York (judicating the UN), showcased at Twentieth Century Fox studios in Los Angeles, a visit to IBM in San Jose, too, the Iowa corn firm of Khrushchev's American friend Ross Will Gause, a Farnham road mall, and a few days' talk with Curtis David, New York's high-light, at least for the tabloids, saw the Soviet dictator cross out of a manufacturing clearing the elegant Walker's Asiatic, his ample nose shaved from below by Henry Cooper Knob, U.S. ambassador to the UN, and the diplomat in charge of this travelling circus.

While the East Coast had its merriness, maniac didn't become truly memorable until the tour reached Hollywood. The film world turned roundfaced out over an distinguished visitor. Stars frightened to be seen meeting with a Communist soon were refugees given free. But's 400-seat commentary in chair with a Commie-on-commie. Only a few Cold Warriors, including Ronald Reagan, turned down the invitation, while Marlon Brando was diagnosed into retelling. His studio bosses told her, according to the screen's oral years later, that Brando knew only two things about America—Goddard and Marilyn Monroe—and that she had to show up, as her "neighbor, scoundrel." Others who came including French actress, Guy Garland and Guy Cooper (After the visit, Khrushchev, who had spent a lot of late nights watching Westerns with Stalin, an insomniac aficion-

ado of the genre, had a long conversation with Cooper, an Oscar winner for *High Noon*.) To ensure Soviet documents of U.S. social pedigree, black stars like Nat "King" Cole were also invited, making the luncheon Kennedy's first integrated. At party-set, according to one contemporary journalist:

"It all went well until LAPD chief William Parker, quizzed by a tourist dressed as Khrushchev's son, was moved, spluttering, the chief's words already announced that he couldn't guarantee security if the Soviets went ahead with a sudden excursion to Disneyland. So Lodge

JAMES DE HONEY called MacLaine on the set of *Cam-Cam* (below), where Anne Francis (photo right) has visit questions, joking with the crowd during a stop in Cleve (Mayfield, news flashback).



HE LOOKED ON ME THE WAY A MAN LOOKS ON A WOMAN, SAID MARILYN MONROE

called a call, and so the visiting Soviets sorted building within his garage. After 45 minutes of retelling, post-hunch remarks, Khrushchev's face grew red as he turned to the topic of moneyhead. "What is it? Is there no pleasure at all? Or have gangsters when held at the place? What man I do, cannot outside?"

His wadeback, as accustomed to ignore the tour's sumptuous as any in the world, was unashamed, the motor himself seemed calm afterwards as he visited the Grey-Green set, swishing gaudy dresses under the gaze of female fans and emerge clutching what appeared to be three red packets. Perhaps he wouldn't be asked again, or even why not. He had one. Monroe: "He looked me the way a man looks on a woman," she said. And when he could add, did the star make of his disease? "He was fat and ugly and bad written on his face and he growled," that after words, when Khrushchev was unshorned

in the New York Times. Not again. It calmed down. Paulson had "tried to let our little fart," he told Lodge, "instead he just sat in pants." The American was glad to get out of town, and even happier that San Francisco began well, without a single fire to IBM. "See you there," showed the supervisor.

America's capitalist class decided had been angling all along to get their winter 1959 supermarket, the very soul of US abundance, to draw up Soviet demand and severity. Now they had clear wish in Khrushchev and a wider



KHRUSHCHEV EXPLODED WHEN DISNEYLAND WAS CALLED OFF: IS THERE AN EPIDEMIC OF CHOLERA?

of bodyguards scattered into Quality Boots. Unfortunately, the bodyguards, comically disturbed by the presence of unshowered persons—in this case, baldie and shopper—locked arms in a circle around their charge. This in turn blocked photographers and interviewers from getting their shot, and the media was not on. One phone bopped a stack of banner placards, squirming merrily; another clasped shelves filled with jars of instant coffee, knocking them to the floor in a cascade of glass splinters; a third paraded on a street corner only to be tackled by an enraged butcher yelling "get off my chick'n!"...another, even more desperate than the others, simply crawled through the debris scatter, and then polishes the salvers and chisel, to show Khrushchev clinking with the shell-shocked store manager.

By the time the cameras stopped, however, everyone—with the notable exception of Khrushchev himself—was showing the strain. Two of Lodge's underlings had collapsed, one locked himself in his hotel room and took the phone off the hook. Reporters, never the most genial of travel agents, were fighting with



the stage was set for the next media brouhaha when the tour arrived at Gorb's farm. What about Gorb and Khrushchev together was a shared, almost mystical, belief in the future, a shared, almost mythical, belief in the beauty, splendor and wonder of corn. They

HARRY MCKEELEY/LIFE PICTURES/CONTRIBUTOR, GETTY IMAGES

CHI SIEBER



GREECE: NO HIGH HEELS AT THE PARTHENON
A summer performance might be the perfect chance to dress up—but women will soon be discouraged from wearing stiletto heels while attending events at Athens' grand ancient landmarks, as government officials are worried that spike heels could damage them. "These monuments have a skin that suffers, and people must realize that," says senior official Stavros Gavrilis. "Suffering for fashion is one thing, it seems, but suffering because of it is quite another."

had been buried since 1991 when Gorb first visited the U.S. & R., to sell his hybrid vehicles. They were very much like barn acrobats to the ear, capable of eating, drinking and talking—especially short ones—for hours.

One key difference, though, was that Khrushchev was aware, even then, many a country's party democratic policies, of the importance of playing to the media, especially the TV cameras. Gorb can't stomach The sight of journalists scrapping him as they closed in on Khrushchev and him—a funny fandango he kicked the most viciously—the Times' Stanley—in the shot, then he began throwing wads of cash at the press. But there were the cameras and veterans of the Battle of Quality Boots, and they held fire guns long enough to snap photos of a bare-eyed Gorb with a smiling Khrushchev.

The tour eventually made it back to Washington for a luncheon. For no reason, the folks at Camp David, Little was accomplished, but at least it was done in due soliloquy. At Khrushchev's daw house, dead survivors in the press corps were left groping for words to describe what had happened. Associate Press reporter Seth Shulman summarized

Khrushchev and Gorb's dinner looks, it seems, almost over with a model of the Soviet craft that had reached the moon

of the superstitious fables, expressed in the skins of the day, could well have stood for the entire two weeks. "It was like happy hour in a movie department store, like the year of the insects, like, crazy, nuts." ■

Hooliganism prisoner free after 20 years

BY GENE LINDNER • The Chinese government has never given a full account of what happened on June 4, 1989, when pro-democracy protesters were shot down in Tiananmen Square. Since the 20th anniversary approached, a small press of good news emerged. Li Zaibai, the last activist known to be held in the now-defunct charge of "hooliganism," has finally been released.

Li was just 24 years old when he helped lead workers to strike at a state-owned fac-

tory in Xiangtan, Chongqing Province, to demand better working conditions. He was arrested, tried, convicted, and sentenced to 15 years in prison.

The factory strike for workers in Palestine is nearly 50 percent, and any opportunity for young girls to learn how to read and write is worth what there is concern, however, over what the students' and teachers' morale is. Some believe the schools are exposing students to radical ideas, teaching, and fostering sympathy for radical groups.

In the Punjab region, where a significant number of muslims are found, police say that more than two thirds of suicide bombers there have转换ed to jihadism. In 2007, an all-female muslim commando in the Red Mosque in Lahore was involved in an eight-day stand-off with Pakistani security forces that left over 100 dead. Islamic students had launched a Taliban-style rally campaign, carrying flags, banners, and demanding end to the war, and, said a top-ranking winter, they were naming themselves. The stand-off was a warning prime for Pakistanis, holding support for militants and further eroding state power.

Despite the concerns over radicalism, muslims are often the only religious group that franchises will agree to. And for those in Pakistan who are not Islam is weakening under the influence of the West, the schools have appeal. Others are calling for reform in the schools' curriculum. Ultimately, the muslims' learned curriculum may only lead the cycle of underrepresentation of Pakistani women in productive society. ■



June 4, 1989: army moves on protesters in Tiananmen Square

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Reading, writing, and radicalism?

BY PATRICIA TROYER • In a country where public education has long been low on the state's list of priorities, madrasas, or Islamic schools, provide a way for Pakistan's poorest families to send their kids to school and teach their children. Though they have traditionally been open only to males, there has recently been a drawdown in the number of all female religious schools at the roughly 12,000 madrasas registered with the state, around 1,500 are attended by young women only. The female students, who have limited educational opportunities, Pakistanis are reshaping the schools and running graduate courses in a higher rate than their male counterparts.

The literacy rate for women in Pakistan is nearly 50 percent, and any opportunity for young girls to learn how to read and write is worth what there is concern, however, over what the students' and teachers' morale is. Some believe the schools are exposing students to radical ideas, teaching, and fostering sympathy for radical groups.

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saying that the Chinese government didn't bother to publicize the news. Liu was fired back to Beijing—but it only became public knowledge this week, after the foundation confirmed it through an independent source in China. "As recently as five years ago, the Chinese government systematically publicized their human rights violations," Koen says. "That's changed. Now [it seems] they don't care."

Koen hopes that Tiananmen's 20th anniversary could provide some incentive to release the last of the so-called "Tiananmen Prisoners." "Rightly so, people are still serving sentences, violates the foundation." If the government has ears, the diligent lawyer being seen to put a face behind it, they should release them all," Koen says. "It's been 20 years. It's time." ■

Perilous to be pro-South in North Korea

BY PATRICIA TROYER • As North Korea ratchets up its tensions with its southern neighbor, being seen as pro-South is increasingly perilous to the local kingdom. A southern news agency reported that the leading pro-reunification group in the North, Chon Sung Chol, was executed last year, though some analysts believe he was sent to a reeducation camp or possibly banished to a distant town. Other pro-South officials have been replaced by military hand-picks.

Rumors have swirled since last year's elec-

tion in the South of conservative President Lee Myung-bak, who ended years of "Sunshine" aid flowing north and built three nuclear reactors to reduce dependence on South Korean imports. President Lee Myung-bak tied aid to nuclear disarmament

However, it later evolved into a political game in inter-Korean relations worsened. Lee Seung-hwan, director of a southern research group that has extensive dealings across the border, told Reuters, "North Korea might have nuclear weapons. Reconciliation, which blossomed under [South Korean] president [in Seoul], has caused a kind of admiration for South Korea among some party leaders."

So it was no surprise when the North had already violated, but not yet breached, the Ceasefire Agreement, at the Kaesong Industrial Park on May 13. The economic zone, located just north of the most heavily militarized border in the world, houses 500 South Korean firms employing 15,000 North Korean workers. Now the North wants more money, including better wages, which now stand at US\$700 a month. Since the salaries are paid directly to the Chinese government, and paid via its own cash grab by Kim Jong Il's reclusive and repressive regime, it needs the hard currency, especially since international sanctions were tightened after the North tested the world by launching a nuclear missile and launching a rocket in April.

Yet not all contact is adverse. Earlier this month, a southern naval frigate began chase off South Korean ports as they were about to attack a North Korean ship off the coast of Africa. ■

In Pakistan, 1,200 of 12,000 madrasas are female-only

VULTURES IN THE DESERT

Canadians are snapping up foreclosed homes in the U.S. Southwest. Is it the opportunity of a lifetime, or a disaster in the making?

BY NICHOLAS HÖRBER • In his firm fitting power suits, in a beige carpeted Calgary home conference hall, Nancy Bacon gives a crowd of would-be real estate investors with a question: "How many people in this room like to be told what to do?" Before a VT of financial planning, developed with CBI Group, a firm run by the Canadians in their after-work hours, who like to think they don't need much brain to tell them what a manager is. And CBI is parading a schmier only Canadians could love: invest a minimum \$10,000 in a foreclosure separation fund created to make massive real estate purchases in one of the western sub-prime cities in the United States—Phoenix, Ariz.

As of February, prices had fallen 35.2 per cent in a year, and by slightly more than half from their peak in June 2006, according to the S&P/Case-Shiller index. That annual decline is the steepest in the country. One in 40 Phoenix homes received foreclosure notices in the first quarter, according to Shelly Tso, which means an U.S. foreclosure rate is the country's nearly highest—rarely visible on the desert landscape as discrete patches of unoccupied houses amidst a checkerboard of green lawns.

Despite those seemingly charming statistics, *Maclean's*/CT's Arizona Acquisition Fund of Alberta is aiming to make \$12.5

million in purchases of single-family homes around Phoenix. It uses local intelligence, sending teams of scouts at 4 a.m. to assess lender-owned properties slated for auction the next day. A Phoenix property management company will rent the homes—some to the very families that have foreclosed upon—for the next five to six years. Then CBI will sell, riding the appreciation. Investors get 10 per cent a year on their money and 10 per cent of the net profits.

Then, if there are any profits, it compiles out the requisite criteria for the Calgary crowd—that the fund is governed by the Alberta Securities Commission and that it can make no guarantees—but reveals a “goal” is to double the capital in four to six years. It’s a courageous boast to have. “I’m going to set the redemption of my \$10,000 bond and a dividend of \$10,000, and I think I’ll do better than that,” says 60-year-old investor David Doyle, a Calgary construction and real estate investor. “All the years of investing, I never seen anything as good as this.”

But is it good? For some, banking on a rebound Phoenix is a gamble. Tom Caldwell, 52, of Gilbert, Ariz., based forever Caldwell Property Management, which runs the CBI properties and provides it with local real estate scouting, prefers a graph of prices on the wall, decades of them—a becoming



graph of prices on the wall, decades of them—a becoming

that this type of investment already has become untenable grade.”

Made no mistake, it’s a high-risk proposition for the average retail investor. And CBI’s leaders have been accused of crossing the line in the past. Last year, its principals, Ben and Brett Culman, came to a registered agreement with the SEC in relation to Keystone Real Estate Investment Corp., of which CBI was an investment arm. Among other things, the Alberta Securities Commission and Keystone also included “various claims with respect to its history of successful past real estate projects,” and that, in case of violation of Alberta securities laws, other provincial regulators did not recommend the Culmans’ past bankrollings. Culman acknowledges the trouble, coming pre-legal advice:

Now CBI is on the road, offering single家庭 homes, retirees and descendants of the sector. So is Calgary-based Optima U.S. Real Estate Fund, which is seeking to raise \$30 million to buy foreclosed and garden apartments in Phoenix, Las Vegas and Sacramento, with

a parallel venture looking at commercial properties in Denver and Austin. Senior adviser Dan Silversen, a 10-year vet at the venture, has taken advantage of previous downturns in real estate cycles and urged savings banks to “you could have a Drexel track for what they’re paying for bonds,” says Silversen, who helped acquire U.S. smaller maths for its employees in 1993. “I’m pretty confident these guys are going to come back.” No room to believe? “It’s old hat for [Silversen]; it’s not for many of the investors considering CBI and Optima. Nor do they have the experience or deep pockets of Jim Balloch, co-chief executive of Blackberry Underwriting in Milton, who recently moved to regenerate the Phoenix Convention Center. No. Optima and CBI are seeking moon-and-pop trail-blazers for whom RERA—eligibility in an investment scheme appears to be a significant plus.

CBI and Optima are attractive in part because they provide these small investors a chance to flirt with the contrarian idea of a Warren Buffett or Peter Lynch. “How come we buy high and sell low?” Bacon asks, giving the Calgary audience. The crowd shouts answers. “Fees,” says one. “The studs!” another. “We don’t listen to optimize,” says another. “We have to facts!” Their facts, in CBI and others have them, lead the savvy to conclude: walking into the subprime quicksand of the Southwest is a good idea. Quantum Buffet, Bacon counsels her early riser to “be firms when others are greedy, and greedy when others are fearful.”

By demonstrating a vulture fund like that is easily similar to the wilder a deeper recession, fuelled by easy credit, that led to the subprime mortgage crisis in the first place. Prior to the peak, recall Karl Gotschner, a real estate vet at the W.P. Carey School of Business at Arizona State University, new Phoenix subdivisions reflected a sense of buying: “People would snap out, day and night in the desert’s 100-degree heat, sometimes for days, to be first in line,” he says. “You had people getting off their buses, buying live and so houses,” says Greg Swanson, a Phoenix real estate agent. Speculators left, many vacant, banking in endlessly rising values to make them rich.

So it’s perhaps appropriate that the subprime crash has now sparked perma speculation—a healthy portion of Canadians, so says Tso, now have the market beaten, despite its dismal numbers. Phoenix is acting a fresh frenzy of buying. “It’s getting crazy again, we’re moving into properties with 10, 12, 15 offers on them,” says Chen Keoh, a Phoenix real estate specialist in Canadian buyers. “Double-living outside is becoming the norm.” She doesn’t understand why the banks aren’t rating that press—because they need to

Others aren’t sure. “I call it a fool’s gold,” says Silversen, referencing an increasingly popular investment on real estate triple leveraged by pension funds. Phoenix Mae and Freddie Mac are backed by many banks. The bull-frosted snowmen balancing the walls of her owner-leased homes had fallen into swift decline, fueling a rebound. “It was one of many recent false bottoms for Phoenix,” he says. “If you read the news, we find the hot topic twice a month.” Still, the speed of the city’s decline does appear to have slowed. “In the last three months, the market has drastically changed,” says Bayly, the Calgary investor who has put up money for the Arizona Acquisition Fund. “Investors like the CBI Group and others are moving in and buying up houses.”

The fact that foreign speculators are helping to stabilize the market doesn’t worry Bayly, who points to the city’s strong total in-migration numbers as the fundamental driver. Observers see no letup in that growth on the horizon, in part because the recession may permanently erode the Rust Belt, creating a vast reservoir of people with no option but to flow into the sun and healthy West.

But whether CBI’s sales pitch, it’s unclear that investors like Buffet or Lynch, commercial lenders, are rushing to buy foreclosed homes. “There’s tension here: are foreclosures people’s choice or are they too much trouble,” says Ben Campbell, author of *Real Estate Investing in Canada*, who presents a February U.S. Census Bureau report that puts the number of vacant homes in the U.S. at a record 19 million. “There are only 40 million properties in Canada,” he says. “The equivalent of all of Canada is sitting empty in the U.S.—that’s why everything costs so cheap.”

Still, Bayly shrugs to his own investment boldness. That evening after the CBI pitch, he did meet some who deserved skepticism of the proposal. “Some of them said, ‘Yeah, but what if it never recovers?’ ” recalls Bayly. “‘Conditions are very curious people. And they tend to be kind of pushed into something. Someone has to tell them, tap them on the shoulder and say, ‘You know, this is a really good thing to do.’ ”

Swanson, the son of a real estate entrepreneur, believes in the upside-down power of the sun’s draw on the American exodus—it is a painless reminder that immigration has driven the Phoenix real estate market in the past, he wonders about the future. “We just went through an unprecedented boom and an unprecedented bust, and what happens after two unprecedented recessions?” The answer is: I don’t know—and anybody who tells you they do know is selling through their butt.” ■



PHOTOGRAPH BY PAUL BAKER FOR *MACLEAN'S*

A BETTER BAILOUT

Could a tax credit for advertising rescue the media industry?

IT'S NOTAN MAVERICK — Ottawa's been picking winners. And, let's face it, it's the "ours" that government ends up picking—the people who get into trouble in the first place," says University of Calgary law professor Jack Mintz. Canwest got lucky because it took on massive debt, believing that consolidation of newspaper and TV assets would bring about efficiencies and profitability, says Mintz. "It was a gamble, and they lost."

With a smile, "only the horse would run."

beneit CTV Clubmed

RATHER THAN favoring broadcasters, a tax credit would benefit all media.

"...people are less likely to recognize you, or understand your products," says Dow.

To be sure, not everyone is in favour of advertising tax break. With such a "boon to cronies," government will end up in a position of favoring some industries over others, says Kevin Gaetan, federal director of Canadian Taxpayers Federation. "Prudential industries would then be paying high taxes in order to subsidize tax credits for less prudential industries."

Knowing that \$100 in advertising will only cost them \$50 or less after the tax credit would be enough to get many spending agents to sign. "Bennett's knows that advertising can protect

EMPLOYEE
WEEK

PRISON GUARD GIVES KIDS A SHOCK

In his daily rounds, Sgt. Walter Schenck lets kids to work at Camp Schenck, a 16,000-acre facility in the mountains, four hours from Philadelphia. Correcting misbehavior in Friends, Sgt. Walter Schenck gives kids a taste of life in the big house by zapping them with his stun gun. Though the 14-year-veteran maintains he got permission from their parents first, officials waited no time in giving him the boot, which he described as "the big shock."

EMPLOYEE
WEEK

WHAT'S NEW WITH RDI GIVES KIDS A SHOCK

In prison today says "Take Our Daughters and sons to work Day has 16,000 volts of electricity during a recent tour of Franklin Correctional Institution in Florida, Sgt. Walter Schmidt gave his son a taste of life at the big house by keeping them with him in tour group. Though the 19-year veteran maintains he got permission from their parents first, officials worked no time in giving him the break which he described as "the big shock."

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ECONOWATCH



David Rosenberg ranking them with the very best economic minds currently predicting the dismal scenes, and last week he returned home to Toronto from Shanghaï, where he has just started a new job as chief economist with Temasek Asia Pacific, after seven years spent at Credit Suisse and Merrill Lynch in New York.

While he was south of the border, Rosenberg became known as one of a precious few economists willing to warn of a double-dip recession. While most of Wall Street's economists predicted for the pretty dallying along in a long-term stock price, Rosenberg warned again and again that it would end in tears. As we all know by now, it did. And, in all honesty, it's been a far worse than even Rosenberg predicted. It spread pain across the world and, wretchedly, destroyed Rosenberg's own firm. Even the man who paid his salary wasn't paying close enough attention in his sobering analysis of a market that had become known as a bubble.

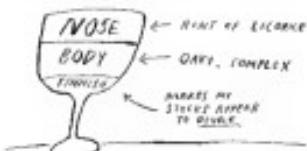
One of Rosenberg's most memorable contributions at Merrill was his list of 10 rules for buying equities. They'll all remain interesting, but one stands out: The U.S. consumer right and wrong; this rule will rule out itself.

That was especially salient right now because, for the past month or so, there's been a lot of talk about "green shoots" in the economy. On the back of a scattering of fairly encouraging data, we've seen a resurgent surge in the stock market. Many economists are convinced that the worst of this crisis has passed—so why aren't they just around the corner? But the end of the crisis phase and the beginning of a true recovery are two different things, and to understand why, you need only to remember Rosenberg's advice: keep your eye on the consumer.

We know from past experience that it's possible for the economy to recover without creating any new jobs. It's possible for GDP to grow while huge industries and entire regions are in tatters. But can the world economy recover while U.S. consumers are in shambles? Can the U.S. and its trading partners survive while half-trillions of thousands of Americans are still losing their jobs every month? While millions are using their home equity, and trillions are being lent out upon each other? April's record retail sales won't provide an unpleasant heart at the answer: We're still stuck in a miasma of despair this time around, but a global rebound faltered while ordinary Americans are still too terrified to spend? That would top them all. ■

OVERDRAWN by Jason Logan

A GROWING GLASS OF WINE



THE GOOD NEWS

Where the heart is

Canadian home sales improved dramatically in April—the third consecutive month of improvement since January's all-time low.

Sales were up 2.1 per cent on the month, according to the Canadian Real Estate Association.

Homeowners' reluctance to put their house on the market during the recession has long since ended (up 20 per cent from a year ago) but

fluctuating supply has pushed prices up by less than 1 per cent from March, and they are now just above the pre-recession peak.

That will eventually crush consumer spending power and further exacerbate the situation.

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as people wait for inflation and deflation at the same time. Inflation

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Strugglers, while falling

THAT'S NOT FUNNY!

The website behind those cute cat photos has a darker side

BY ALEXANDRA SHIMO • In December 2007, Chris Forcand remastered his Toronto apartment and charged with luring an underage girl, penning a dairygates weepin' and other internet trash. Forcand, then 17, had posted nude photos of himself in Internet chat rooms and tried to proposition young girls. After some of those lurid conversations were sent to members of his church, Toronto police's Child Exploration Section was called in. Forcand was later sentenced to 12 months.

The cyber vigilante who uncovered him never saw him and bought about the arrest did not reveal their identity. But subsequent reports linked them to the Internet group Anonymous, which grew out of a message board site, 4chan.org, that is arguably one of the oldest places you'll find online.

If you've never heard of 4chan, you're probably well over half of its users. Its users have coined some of today's most popular Internet memes, such as抗日dog, which blurs people's computer screens with a link to the Beck Army song Never Gonna Give You Up, and foxtrot, those photos of confuse foxtrot accompanied by broken English captions like "I can has Cheezburger?" (sic!) in an increasingly

SITE FOUNDER "mash" (left, on left) Nichols and Rick Astley are popular star gods; Forcand was busted by 4chan's associates

dang called Slopefolk). Remember the butt about the Gleeclub Rant song, by Tay Zonday? Its popularity partly stemmed from a joke—chatters decided to boast its ratings because of its absurd lyrics and melody, it was eventually covered by John Mayer and others. With more than 100 million page

views per month, 4chan has become something on the basis of fun. When something becomes a trend on the site, it will likely hit your computer screen soon, explains Ten Hwang, a research associate at Harvard's Berkman Center for Internet & Society.

So what does this cultural force look like? It has been linked to comic genius, emblazoned on its cruel pranks and online harassment, and named a cause of real terrorism by TIME, which described it as "not a terrorist, but frequently there to kill." That would know, as it appears to be the hub of a site that rigged the voting of the magazine's "World's Most Influential Person" contest, according to several reports. The founder of 4chan, called "mash" in this year's winner, has lost out to Barack Obama and the Dale Carnegie (you wouldn't confront or deny the buck, but the results speak for themselves). The first rounds of the top 21 candidates spell the phrase "Mashable" like the game." Mashable is the name of a 4chan discussion on 4chan itself, and a sophomore album release.) The site of computer mischief is emblematic of the site, whose users have been accused of everything from causing scans to cyberstalking. In other words, 4chan is a powerful microcosm of all the others, possibility, chaos and destruction of the Internet.

The people who drive the site are mostly society's heavy hitters: the biggest demographic appears to be 10-17 year-old boys, according to Quantcast.com, a site that measures digital traffic. They site a lot of good time, it's pretty much what you might expect from teenagers, especially bored, easily frustrated ones, paying off in weird words and

pornography site-criticism. But so are nice duds, swell scrapbooks, homophobe causes, and toilet humor. The site is to get a rise out of the audience—to create "lols," a congegrate of "lol" (short for "laugh out loud"), that relies on the joy of a parenting conundrum.

Sometimes, 4chan's users turn to YouTube. In February, chatters found a video of a cat being physically abused on YouTube. With some Internet sleuthing, they

Tous "What's that he's doing? What's going on?" explained one of Forcand's relatives, via phone call with Mashable. "These people are still trying to discredit him."

Unlike most Web forums, 4chan does not filter salacious or vulgar material. Almost anything, no matter how depraved or crass, can appear on the messageboards, although there is a ban on child pornography since it doesn't request user names or registration.

responsible. Legally, the website is unrestricted in the U.S., section 230 of the Communications Decency Act virtually removes them from liability for anything individuals post. Canadian just-splainit law has largely followed suit, under the rationale that online content like Yahoo shouldn't be responsible for each user's actions. A case now before the Supreme Court of Appeals court in Halifax, 2006, Nicole Cormier, an 18 year old from Orange County, Calif., died while driving her father's Porsche. The prurient photos of the scene, showing the girl's partly dislocated head and bloody body, were leaked by Highway patrol dispatchers, and soon spread on the Web. The family started receiving anonymous nast messages and emails with the images attached. They stopped using the Internet and even resorted to home-schooling of their remaining daughter. They've sued the police (as far unsuccessfully), but everyone else, including the site that spread the photos, has emerged unscathed. There is almost no evidence suggesting the group Anonymous was involved in spreading the pictures, but it's extremely difficult to track down real-world identities.

Cormier and U.S. law largely protects individuals who post anonymously, says Richelle and Sodhi, a Calgary-based intellectual-property and Internet lawyer, who wrote a paper for blog chat room. Thoroughly changing judges was up to the task, but there's now a series of federal lawsuits have few legal rights. They can file a lawsuit asking the site to remove user identifiers, he says, but there is no guarantee they will win. And if they do win, the website might not keep any records. She can track users through their computer's IP addresses, but websites often don't store on them, explains Michael Perico of ReputationDefender, a U.S. firm that provides support and legal help for victims of online attack. And when the libel is posted from a public computer, you're out of luck.

In essence, this gives sites like 4chan carte blanche. Sometimes harassers work for money, robbing our predators and our norms. At others, they engage in cyber-terrorism and harassment. The former is morally abhorrent, the latter isn't.

But prosecuting online harassers is extremely difficult. Most harassment cases aren't serious enough to involve the police, or it's up to the victim to track down those

BAB!



SURPRISE CANNIBALISM!!



SAUDI ARABIA: 'MISS BEAUTIFUL MORALS' PAGEANT
In Saudi Arabia, it's what's on the inside that counts. Instead of bikinis and cocktail gowns, the 200 women clamoring to be crowned Miss Saudi Arabia are being judged on their ideal qualities. The second annual contest, dubbed "Miss Beautiful Morals," includes virtue on counts such as respect for one's parents. "The winner won't necessarily be beautiful," says the event's organizer. "We care about the beauty of the heart."



GAME ONE Balsillie (left) wants to buy the Phoenix Coyotes; Wayne Gretzky (right) coaching the team

declared himself "shocked and offended" by Balsillie's decision to reduce his public financing of his party bid to top.

So when the chance to buy the Blue Jackets came up five months later, Balsillie decided to play hardball. This time, he made no pretense of keeping the team in place, offering a stunning \$210 million to owner Craig Leipold and calling "screw you" for season tickets at Ceger Coliseum in Hinsdale. The message was clear: to him, not only was Balsillie in it for the money, he was mobilizing public opinion in the heart of his old constituency to get his way. Once again, the gambler had won. Even in anticipation of a new NHL team reached a deal with Balsillie to invest in the idea of using pageantry to create a system for world-class entertainment. Leveraged to the teeth, scrabbling to keep purloins on board, he and partner Nels Johnson, a local brewer, rebuffed Balfour's advances of a consortium of investors that would keep the club in Tennessee. That group included Union "Beers," Del Biggio, a Silicon Valley financier who last week pleaded guilty to fraud for defrauding documents to get loans from banks and NHL fellow owners Legwand, respectively, was placed with part ownership on the Minnesota Wild, a success full franchise located in a traditional hockey market. Eventually, Balsillie would do almost anything to stop Balfour from getting an NHL franchise.

No wonder, then, that the tech magnate took a swine-flu-like approach when the Coyotes team called for a spending-down government he could to make. Before long, he began by amassing a nest egg in his \$120 million bid that he'd be able to move the team to Hamilton, a move that put the contractor not only against Meyers but against his own bosses. It turns out the NHL owners, among the Coyotes' biggest creditors, having extended the team more than \$10 million in loans and advances since last fall, then bailed him out of his financial card, claiming that the NHL was trifling the country that's "the source of the game, the players, the money." His website became an outlet for press conferences, railing fans to go on "rallys" that often as not devolved into personal attacks on this commentator. "They're being an ass," Balsillie, "we're our poster boy. Monday 'Hamilton can stand and support them, just not the hell off of the way."

Balsillie has reportedly cut his losses as

BREAKING INTO THE CLUB

RIM boss Jim Balsillie is hell-bent on bringing another NHL team to Canada—even if it costs him his reputation **BY CHARLIE GILLIS**

Like every re-warming narrative, this one required a certain suspension of disbelief. After years in the desert, there was that. Canada lost 15 years ago would return to rule now, serving up through the streets of a determined city, Hamilton, One. The lords of the National Hockey League would have to do some kung-fu, and the man's deliverer—a fiery-eyed pitbull—would quickly reach terms with the Toronto Maple Leafs. The prodigal franchise would then sit up straight for the road, and together the new rivals would share the spoils of hockey's newest chapter.

There was no fetcher enough that even the intended audience acknowledged doubt. Fully 45 per cent of those surveyed by Harris Decima last week admitted they didn't think Jim Balsillie could pull off his bid to buy the Phoenix Coyotes from the Whining Jets. But, however distractingly they wanted he would, Balsillie maintained his customary self-confidence. His desperation was creeping into the message. By late last week, the BlackBerry tycoon was risking for the biggest leap of magnification yet from the tiny pars fable he'd engineered: his apparent or dubious bid to create a home for the Coyotes in Ontario.

"Take an unenhanced interview," he said in one interview. "It's my character, quick I don't quit. I don't get scared."

Maybe not, but when a man worth \$1.6 billion claims calendar genius, a trade to assume he's running out of options. On Tuesday, those dividing odds came into sharp focus as an Arizona judge began hearing arguments in Balsillie's controversial effort to purchase Coyotes out of bankruptcy. Not only was Gary Bettman, the NHL's queen mouse and Balsillie's nemesis, pulling every lever to block the sale, it seemed increasingly possible that the Waterloo, Ont., rock eagles had indeed at all. Coyotes owner Jerry Meyer, it turned out, had demanded at least partial payment of his \$40-million bid before the league at Stonewall, which ruled that judge's first trial would be determine who actually holds the reins of the destitute club. If the NHL wins that call, the Hamilton proposal is no good at all.

Coyotes was far-fetched enough that even the intended audience acknowledged doubt. Fully 45 per cent of those surveyed by Harris Decima last week admitted they didn't think Jim Balsillie could pull off his bid to buy the Phoenix Coyotes from the Whining Jets. But, however distractingly they wanted he would, Balsillie maintained his customary self-confidence. His desperation was creeping into the message. By late last week, the BlackBerry tycoon was risking for the biggest leap of magnification yet from the tiny pars fable he'd engineered: his apparent or dubious bid to create a home for the Coyotes in Ontario.

That Balsillie himself in the role of a tycoon should not come easily by surprise,

now Balsillie has tried to buy NHL teams, and three times in both have dissolved amid accusations that he tried to circumvent the league's reinforcement procedures. Balsillie claims, the judge hearing the bankruptcy case, tried this was to smooth over the long history of bad血line, ordering Meyers and the league into mediation over the wax of control. But if the pair is any indicator, NHL involvement in the disposition of the Coyotes will be a bad thing for Balsillie.

So far, the 46-year-old businessman has presented no fight, with implications that could reach far beyond Phoenix, as, for that matter, the National Hockey League. A few days before the hearing, the Coyotes filed a civil complaint alleging the league's machinations against Balsillie amount to anti-competitive behavior. This isn't a long shot, but its implications could prove severe: by putting the NHL as an "illegal cartel" competing to protect regional monopolies, it may mean the contractor has held up negotiations in their positions of privilege for more than attorney. Other leagues in the United States are going to be looking at this very closely."

But seven of Meyers were found to be intransigent, that rule of the Coyotes would no longer be final. Balsillie's proposal, after all, hangs on the condition that he can move the Coyotes to southern Ontario, and transit fees of teams require league consent. To put it mildly, that seems unlikely. Three times

The plowing profile that has charred him as chief executive of Research in Motion (RIM) is also as much of his passion for her league hockey as the wave pool in his house, usually invoking the "everyone" aesthetic that used a few years ago when driving a biplane and living in a four-bedroom bungalow. The blue in his collar has marginally faded by his late career, Balsillie was rubbing shoulders with such future luminaries as the writer Malcolm Gladwell and the economist Amartya Sen at the University of Toronto's illustrious Trinity College. He's never so Harvard Business School and new media in Canada's über rich person per son. Still, say friends, the son of a Preston, Ont., electrician never far below the surface "brought a sense of wine-and-cheese country

HE CLAIMS THE NHL IS STIFFING CANADA—‘THE SOURCE OF THE GAME, THE PLAYERS, THE MONEY’

club at the last thing he wrote," says Ron Fournier, co-chef of Hamilton's newspaper who follows Balsillie. "He wants to own a hockey team because he's an狂热 fan for sports, travel as leverage to get a new arena built in Pittsburgh. But the league stood firm while RIM's owner, Mike Lazaridis, the legendary player,

had already need to persevere the Pittsburgh Penguins in a USA 175-million deal, which failed only when he refused to guarantee he would move the team for ten years. Balsillie maintains he simply wanted the option as leverage to get a new arena built in Pittsburgh.

But the league stood firm while RIM's owner, Mike Lazaridis, the legendary player,

one more sign of his disgruntlement: "I expect five pens leading for a front door," he told the Hamilton Spectator last week. "We couldn't find a front door." But as what period did not seem to turn to self-defeating stubbornness.

But others say those observers, right about the time Bettman began questioning the merits of one of his prospective partners, were looking to approve a sale at Starkeyway was one thing; replacing Larry Grimes, a Marysville-based entrepreneur who specialized in the acquisition of sports teams, was quite another. One that included a move was an open challenge to the NHL's power of self-determination. "The league set up ground rules for the role of teams in great need," says Grimes. "While I personally do not like long-term stability of teams in the southern and southwest United States, I wish Bettman had gone about that wrong. He's bunched it."

More interesting still is the lower-profile court activity on the part of the league—a complaint filed by the Coyotes but one that seems Bettman's short-term intent. Like any



"I DON'T QUIT. I don't get scared," Bettman says.

To make peace with Bettman he is positive his own business model, says Grimes. "I would let them go get some backroom and say, 'Look, why don't you run the team in Phoenix for a couple of years, and if you still can't make money then we'll discuss a trade.'" But Bettman has made up his mind—selfishly, no doubt—about what he would rather move the Coyotes back to Whistler, the city they left in 1996, than sell them to the KHL. With strong support among the long-horned blueliners, he is unlikely to relent.

Bettman, meanwhile, has started his pride and регулирование on a promise to bring another team to Colorado, whenever happenstance might favour him. "It's my firm intention to return to Hamilton hockey days," he said in a weekend email to supporters. "It's the best unmet hockey market in the world and it deserves an NHL team." Already, there is speculation that he will re-sign coach Alain Vigneau of Ville de l'Île Poincaré del, and it's entirely likely some "regular" owners will approach him. Moyes did last month. Yet any of these transactions will be a series of court battles and publicity campaigns, spending millions more to attack the very business model he wants to be part of. To date, he has nothing to show for his efforts.

When he tried to buy the Penguins, Bettman learned many hockey fans by presenting his putative name on the Stanley Cup—"one says it's terrible," says Pink, the Whistler chamber of commerce chief. "Just is the sort of person who likes are for the team. He is very, very loyal." The rest of the NHL, owners would learn that if they would lay down the drawbridge, agrees. Bettman's friend Fritsch, a former NHL referee who made his own fortune after partnering specifically designed software. "They're and he would've had a good pair to the other two NHL owners. Well, I don't think like partnerships, but if there were one person in the world I'd go into a partnership with, it's Jim. He would be a great ally. We would create wealth for the other owners. He would have a winning team ranking money in Hamilton that they aren't getting."

The question now is which party, if any, will think it might well be in the NHL's interest to make over and over and over again." The irony, say people who know him, is that Bettman's blind about consequences once he is in your camp. "The sports analogy really applies to him," says Pink, the Whistler chamber of commerce chief. "Just is the sort of person who likes are for the team. He is very, very loyal." The rest of the NHL, owners would learn that if they would lay down the drawbridge, agrees. Bettman's friend Fritsch, a former NHL referee who made his own fortune after partnering specifically designed software. "They're and he would've had a good pair to the other two NHL owners. Well, I don't think like partnerships, but if there were one person in the world I'd go into a partnership with, it's Jim. He would be a great ally. We would create wealth for the other owners. He would have a winning team ranking money in Hamilton that they aren't getting."

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The question now is which party, if any,

DID YOU SEE THAT?

A blind B.C. skier who does 'ridiculous' stuff has people gasping

BY JULIA MCKINNELL • On a warm spring day, a small crew of skiers meets at the base tower of the Whistler chairlift (Whistler Mountain). One of the skiers is Donovan Tidley, 24, Canada's flagbearer at the Beijing Paralympics and a world-record holding snowboarder. Wearing a black and strange vest with "Blind Skier" printed on it, he jokes about his other problems: dyslexia. "I was born with one of the poorest strains of dyslexia you could have. Friends tell me I walk around like an old man."

Tidley, who was born without vision, learned to ski at age three in Coarse Moosa in North Vancouver. He didn't learn to walk the first year because it felt easier that way. "Yeah, it's not like I can see where I'm going."

His guide at Whistler this day is Jaison Peters. To pass certification, guides for the disabled must learn to ski blindfolded. On the mountain, Peters trails Tidley, calling out instructions with a rhythmic touch. He avoids using "left" and "right." "I just say any road and road and that's a lot easier than having to think about left and right." The last time Tidley skied Whistler, a guide got confused and instead turned off right. "There I was at the end and then I kept going past," he says. "I took off a cliff!" "Oh, a cliff's a bit of an exaggeration," says Mark Lytle, a volunteer guide who uses a whopper and who now keeps things off the conversation.

"Well, what would you call it, a gully?" asks Tidley. "I just went off the edge of the whole lip," says Lytle, smiling. "A hole you'd drop off. And just for the record, I wasn't the guide who did it. Everyone's looking at me!"

Peters reaches for Tidley's forearm and the two begin to glide down a gentle incline, just as a coral bright blue hooks a corner and scoops three arborists like an eagle with a fist. Peters pulls down the safety bar on the swiveling hook, and starts to set the place for the morning. They'd been a warm-up on Whistler, then head over to Crystal chair where they'd "get some serious" ridiculous stuff. "Ridiculous stuff?" We're going to take the back bowl up Spudsy's Ladder," says Peters. "There's probably only a bout one or two per cent of the people who come to this mountain who actually do that them."

There are rumors around Whistler that some blind guy can ski the Whistler. The

sun much to the right and crawled into the sitting clock. It's a good thing there was no smartphone to catch what I had to say."

On Crystal chair, far above the treeline, Peters says, "I think as should start doing grown-ups, meaning adding the blind run." Tidley laughs. "I don't know," he says. "My name's not Sammy Baes." Now they're both laughing.

Tidley sings "I've Got You Tease" to the tune of Sammy and Cheryl. "I've Got You Tease," he says. "A lot of people when they meet a blind person say 'I feel uncomfortable,' but if I can crack a blind joke, it loosens them up. I love to make fun. If I'm sliding and I run into someone, I say 'Sorry I didn't see you.' Or if I crash into the wall, something, I'll stand and say 'I can see! I can see!' What makes him

strange are politically correct people who who feel he's lame in TV. You watch TV. That's the socially accepted term, you watch TV. Or if someone says 'I'll hear you later' I think, ahah, you don't need to do that."

For the dashup Spudsy's Ladder, Lytle carries Tidley's skis and poles. It's a hair-raising climb up and over the ridge into the back bowls of the glacier. "Crossing Spudsy's Ladder is a full-body experience," says Tidley. "At it goes, you never know where it's going to land, using both hands to find purchase. The work is paid off in spades by the epic steep ride otherwise. People are exhausted," says Lytle. "They watch. It's all most impressive stuff. There's no easy way out of there."

At the bottom of the bowl, a strategy isn't always what he's just run. He's up to Tidley's, his mouth agape. "He's just so cool and that you're blind?" Lytle leans in and whispers, "That happens all the time."

Last year, Peters and Tidley dropped a 16-foot corner. The picture is on Tidley's Facebook. "It's probably the craziest thing we've done together," says Peters. "People look at me and think that in retrospect out of this world, but it's not normal," says Tidley. "I love to do. I'm a young guy. I have lots of energy. I just happen to be blind."

DONOVAN TIDLEY at Whistler. He's also a swimmer

Moxy, he reaches himself at the top of the start gate for a race. He runs through a series of gates set up for a giant slalom race. At the bottom, Tidley sits with what people thought of his performance and then admits, "I was scared, to be honest. I've finished out by the gates." He's coping with the idea of becoming a serious man but doesn't log him. "If I'm strong, it's a wide open double black diamond, I'd really go for that. But one of the things holding me back from racing is the guys. What? I'm blind? I don't like surprises. I have a gate and pretty soon I've popped out of both my bindings and I'm doing a yield sign." In his first big race last year on Whistler, "I came out of the starting gate and swerved

step on the otherwise. People are exhausted," says Lytle. "They watch. It's all most impressive stuff. There's no easy way out of there."

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JET-PACK DAREDEVIL FASTER THAN HIMSELF For just 144 pieces wearing skis, breaking a world record one could be enough for a single weekend. But not first time. After jet pack record-setting 46 km/h at a motor show in Scotland on May 10, the Denver man returned the next day. His flight reached speeds of 87 km/h. Then, on Sunday, he smashed his own record again, zooming to 105 km/h. Ironically, a traffic cop who'd seen the rider use his helmet his speeds.

HE'S DRIVEN LIKE AN OLYMPIAN — BUT WHEN DOES TENACITY BECOME SELF-DEFEATING?



league, the NHL, is loath to put its rules governing the placement of franchises to a legal test, in a decision finding them guilty of discriminatory behaviour would clear the way for any owner to bring financial trouble to his town, or sell it to buyers in another city. The NHL has no shortage of cash strapped franchises these days (recent reports cite Atlanta, Dallas, Tampa Bay and Whistler among those with money problems), but the reality overplayed. Where is there to move other than the little territory controlled by more successful teams, or unsolved markets where the league hasn't expanded?

It is, in short, a recipe for pyrrhic victory. While it endures pressure on Bettman is made a rule, the antitrust laws still represent a darker threat to the monopsony enjoyed by the current owners. The latest proposal of legal mind, Bettman will have broken down the door to a club where he is a Public Enemy No. 1, and where membership just became a whole lot less attractive. This explains why league officials point him in a loose corner and a backstabber every chance they get. "It has everything to do with respect for the league's rules and processes," Bettman says. "I'm a little bit of a purist. I thought to let the club be the United Kingdom." Other points in from Bettman are "Looking forward to deal or no deal talk," and "Chicken cordon bleu was lovely, going to have a real nice" (he's on Facebook, too).

TWITTER'S OLDEST BRIT USER BLOGS CASSEROLES

"Just having a cappo," my dear sister wrote in one of her first posts on the now defunct blogging platform, All About You. At age 104, Bev, who lives in an elderly care facility in England, is thought to be the oldest Twitter user in the United Kingdom. Other points in from Bev, who goes by the nickname KeyBabe1924, are "and another of 'Looking forward to deal or no deal talk,'" and "chicken cordon bleu was lovely, going to have a real nice" (she's on Facebook, too).

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PHOTO: JEFF HIRSCH FOR EW.COM

"By the time we got to Woodstock, we were over half a million strong."

John MacCall, who wrote those lyrics, was there. But you didn't have to be there to be there. The Woodstock festival, which marks its 40th anniversary this summer, came to symbolize a sense of utopia, love and LSD that exists and lives like a legend. Arriving a month after the Apollo moon landing, it was the last blossoming of an age of innocence when anything seemed possible, briefly. But even before the heads of half a million had turned the New York State Thruway into a parking lot, a former field manager of cash, the bloom was already off the rose of flower power. The week before the three-day festival, which began on Aug. 15, 1969, the Charles Manson murders revealed psychedelia's dark side. And as the spring of the same year, Easy Rider lit up the Cannes Film Festival with a drug-fueled powder that turned the era's ultimate bad trip.

Last weekend, 40 years later, Easy Rider, the mother of all rock festivals and the mother of all film festivals merged in one wild flashback to the French Riviera with the premiere of *Taking Woodstock*, an ode to hippies by Ang Lee, the Oscar-winning director of *Brokeback Mountain*.String psychopaths fended off the sexual depravity of *Carrie* around midnight, to top the least. After the premiere, a party for the film began on the beach at sunrise. A rock band

boozed on. At the side food station, a pair of servers in till-doff tuxes used tw-light candles to set sandwiches on fire before handing them, like presents, to their discoverer, a seated folkie in moccasins and evening gown. It was hard to say if it was a period touch or a necessary recession joke.

One of 30 films in competition at the fabled annual Cannes festival, *Taking Woodstock* premiered before a black-tie crowd of

The mother of all rock festivals and the mother of all film festivals meet up for the debut of Ang Lee's new film about Woodstock BY BRIAN D. JOHNSON

1,300 who watched with reverence, curiosity and sentiment. But they seemed to miss some of the joke in a picture that Lucas is his first comedy in 10 years after a glacial era of blockbusters. Orange-peel flowers, which looked like giant daisies, were strung artistically around in party favors. Otherwise, happiness was very natural. No campfires on the beach, no busses of marchers, no snake,

no strained like a touring company of Ham played dutiful covers of '60s hits. Some of the ones who means garage crooned meditatively on the dinner table, measuring plates full of spaghetti. Orange-peel flowers, which looked like giant daisies, were strung artistically around in party favors. Otherwise, happiness was very natural. No campfires on the beach, no busses of marchers, no snake, he heard someone. "Woodstock planned a seal,"

Lee told me. "All the good issues are an extension of what that generation was about." In fact, Obama's inauguration could be seen as a Woodstock moment. That day, Lee was surprised to get a call from his 13-year-old, homeschooled school to attend. "Look, 'How did you get there?'" Hirsch. "Me and my friends talked about it. We're going to Woodstock. It's a historic moment. You have to participate."

An aging boomer—who wasn't around at Woodstock but tried hard to make up for it—I've just begun to realize that Woodstock's legacy is now a faded pop artifact for generation that doesn't comment on her but instead says "far out" instead of "awesomes."

But the music of the '60s has certainly perished. And while I'm not the most qualified to say, Lee's movie does with great restraint in Cannes what it tries to capture: an intense sense of an event that was definitely enriched by an epic counterculture story. Michael Winterbottom's *Woodstock* (2009), with a cast like Jimi Hendrix, Janis Joplin, Jefferson Airplane and the Who—a raw, muddy sides of hell of a film on one—the three-hour film was a pig-eaten landmark



DEPHTHE MARTIN (left, center); JEFF HIRSCH; ANG LEE, CANNES

Due to be re-released as an expanded DVD for this summer's anniversary, it pioneered a whole movement of "rite-of-passage" filmmaking, along with *Mosby Pop* and *Comme des Chats*. They weren't just concert movies, but candid portraits of a generation discovering itself. Leib's film (which opens Aug. 10) pays homage to Woodstock with 50-plus screen images and about 16 min footage. But he can't begin to compete with it.

"We didn't realize half a million people," the talk-spoker director said last night that week, as he held court with his long-time screenwriter-producer, Jason Schwartzman, at a post-screening party of the *Castanet* hotel. "And I still can't get over it when I bring it up." "It's like Jimi Joplin," he said. "But what I can do is raise a dramatic approach and see how it influenced a small part of the world."

Leib's movie looks at Woodstock through the other end of the telescope; the most people who were actually there, a guy nowhere near the stage. And the music stays in the background, an drifting in from afar. Which is how most people actually heard it. Based on a 2006 memoir by Elliot Erb, *Taking Woodstock* is the story of an amateur designer based in Greenfield Village who ends up hosting the festival while trying to salvage the family business, a tony Canadian motel owned by a Jewish immigrant parents—a sabbatical father (Jerry Goodman) and a sonny goofball brat-of-a-mother (Miranda Otto). Come



In TIME for the festival's 40th anniversary, Taking Woodstock opens Aug. 14

considering the character of commerce at White Lake, N.Y., Tiber offers a perfunctory disclaimer, who remembers both the tennis dress and an commercialist! As he runs the road to the formal hair coup, Tiber's parents cash in. Stephen's causes to them are being led by Michael Lang (Jonathan Graff), a shrewd hippie impresario, who remembers both the tennis dress and an commercialist! As he runs the road to the formal hair coup, Tiber's parents cash in. Stephen's causes to them are being led by Michael Lang (Jonathan Graff), a shrewd hippie impresario, who remembers both the tennis dress and an commercialist!

In fact, he can't even sign copies of *Before Now* the 1971 bestseller by Barbara Davis, the former cultists of LSD guru Timothy Leary. "It's very easy to make fun of hippie culture," says Schwartzman, 46, who discovered Woodstock as a high schooler. "I think it's important to look at the film from a more objective [view]. I mean, I was born in New York's abiding largest city.

Taking Woodstock, in other words, is a show about perching on a shelf. It's also a rite of passage story about Tiber, a blossoming guy who finally walks into the festival fire, drops acid, and changes his life. Making his film debut, Demian Bichir, a comedian with his own cable show, is a remembrance of the young Dennis Hopper in *The Graduate* (1967), and the influence it drove home by Simon & Garfunkel guitar riffs on the score.

Tiber's Jewish mother comes across as a marmoset caricature, but the movie's idealized cross-cultural consciousness is surprisingly authentic, given that hipsters have become a Hollywood cliché. "For Ang, the biggest task was to take on the playfulness of what people in 1969 were like," says Schwartzman, explaining they were shrewdly aware of our bourgeoisie status. "They had those natural bodies

and they were free."

The movie tries to make hippies hip again and in Comes to young men and they're ready, a new wave people got wild without urban malady. "If you were a 23-year-old guy in Woodstock and didn't have a phone, you were just hanging out," says Linda Hunt, who portrays a dull-witted Vietnamese. "Whatever power we had, that's who you were with. These days you'd be with who you're with plus the 10 people you've met on Facebook." Martin continues. "If you watch the Woodstock documentary, you'd see a whole lot of people hanging out for the cameras, and they're not posing it on their websites, because websites don't exist. You wonder if it ever happened today what it would be like. Would people be able to go beyond themselves and care about something bigger?"

Both actors agree that Barack Obama's election was the closest thing to Woodstock they've experienced. "Everyone was in with us, amazing mood," says Hunt. "You could just go up to someone you'd never met and strike up a great conversation. It was about like Woodstock."

Careers, meanwhile, is about as far from Woodstock as one can imagine. At the party on the beach after Leib's performance, women in gowns sit in robes by the lappong sunbathers, some in bikinis, some in leotards, some in lingerie. Leib and his wife, who'd been invited as a VIP seen, look a little dated. You can sense a polite response, which is usually confirmed when the names are listed down the line. "When you go into competitive tennis with a crowd," says Schwartzman, "you are walking with a target on your back, because you're not living up to its high standards of your competition. I thought Americans would go for it. As it happens, every country in the world, except the U.S. won four."

In a quiet corner of the party, a couple of senior citizens share a smile, complain about short-term memory loss, and reminisce about how Cancer used to be fun. How you would hang out over lunch and wine, undrugged by phone for days. Once people smile at, though, "It's like watching one episode after another of a TV series on DVD."

Laycock is part of a larger "slow theater" movement, a riff on "slow food" that calls for audience immersion. In August, Ontario's Shaw Festival is staging a Neil Concord play in one day, beginning at 3 p.m. and end-

ing at 8 p.m.



THE ALL-DAY慢劇《Laycock》將由莎翁節上演至次日，長達45分鐘。(AP)

My play's longer than your play

Robert Lepage's new work is nine hours long and it's not unique. Here comes 'slow theatre.'

BY ANNE KINGSTON • After wowing audiences in London, Sydney and Madrid, Robert Lepage's mindboggling play/party finally makes its North American premiere next month at Toronto's Luminato Festival. And who has theater critics cheering most about the Canadian theatrical auteur's latest production? In exploitation of the human voice? In multi-layered sensory overload? In a buzz of all about Lepage's adulatory running time of eight hours and 25 minutes? It's being staged in three-hour chunks over three days, for Lepage devotees at all day marathons punctuated by 20-minute intermissions and a 45-minute meal break. Tickets run \$79 to \$125, which when you do the math is a banger. Where else can you buy grapes for 35 cents a minute?

Sensory-based artist and playwright Bill Miller, one of few critics who collaborated on the production, says Lepage's desire to mount a nine-hour play has less to do with all the thought he was racking, "He's got this idea to see the time commitment as key to the 'operative importance.'" Time takes on a different scale, you experience things without running on the blackberry or cologne." Of course, running off the BlackBerry was against the grain of an ABC affiliate, *Two*, during a call-in. "Nine hours of theater scares the hell out of people," Miller says. "I'm going to have a hard time getting my family out." Once people smile at, though, "It's like watching one episode after another of a TV series on DVD."

Laycock is part of a larger "slow theater" movement, a riff on "slow food" that calls for audience immersion. In August, Ontario's Shaw Festival is staging a Neil Concord play in one day, beginning at 3 p.m. and ending at 8 p.m. "Slow food is here to stay," says Lepage, the new artistic director of the Canadian Stage Company. "If it's one place you can really reflect your body and mind and imagination to a rhythm that's radically different from that of our everyday lives." Playing that slightly more meaty stage game can be extremely rich for an audience and extremely rich as a narrative process."

Of course, being exposed to the precise acquire process, a rare art not evident in the *Slow Food* review, who has blogged Lepage's pretense at London's Barbican Centre last September. He loaded his visual inventory, but became weary by the halfway mark, writing, "More than that send you home is someone peeling my eyelids up off the banana floor." Still, he expected most of the audience game to be a training exercise. Maybe they were celebrating their own endurance.

Laycock is an antidote to a monotonous culture that serves up "prepackaged" theater, Miller says. "You know what you're going to get out of Shirley Valentine or Dirty Dancing. And they deliver. But we want people to experience something that shocks us. That's what I feel people were reacting to. They still couldn't believe it. They didn't quite get it because there's nothing to go to, it's a release of a fantasy, a different world." For any one making the plonge, Miller has advice: "Bring water. And wear sweatpants."

PERFORMANCE OF THE WEEK: HYUN SINGERS

In the Indian city of Hyderabad, 160,000 people gathered to mark the 50th anniversary of self-governed Telangana. Among the performances were the recordings sang in stores, holding and singing of the hymns, known as *devotional songs*, in praise of their deities. The MTS 10 performance showed off this passion as world record for their singing, set in 2007 in Germany, when 60,000 people sang the same arias.



DR. PAUL WESTON (Gabriel Byrne) talks to his patient April Gable (April Pearson) in the second season of *In Treatment*.

Is a therapist allowed to do that?

In the drama 'In Treatment,' Dr. Paul Weston seems to have a problem with boundaries.

BY NICHOLAS KOHLER • Early on in the hit HBO drama *Treatment*, Dr. Paul Weston, a therapist portrayed with understated aplomb by the Irish actor Gabriel Byrne, is seen struggling to endogloss the toilet in his home office. Soon, Laura, a young 30-year-old uncouth theologian who visits both that she is in love with him and that he secretly loves her: "I am not a realistic option," Paul tells her, addressing an infatuation common to psychoanalysts called erotic transference. Suddenly, Laura stands "I need to get," she says. "It's bled up," replies Paul. Laura comes to the door to Paul's home, dressed in his wife's and children's. Paul grows uncomfortable. "Then there's a come up in real school—a patient in love with the therapist also comes along," says Laura. "What about the therapist?"

Actually, the question rarely comes up. "This is why I have reservations about the show; it seems like she's a career [work] of ethical dilemmas in every season," says Ryan Howard, a L.A. psychiatrist who guested each time an episode appears in this TV one, so much does it feel like a continuation of his workday. "I find myself doing a lot of backstabbing." Yet he's hooked, as are many therapists who feel the drama is the most accurate depiction of their work yet to television and TV screens. "Once you're born and earthly—how often do TV plots turn out on for life plays?—as well as gloriously tally, *In Treatment*, now in its second season on HBO Canada, is in danger of becoming the go-to college seminar so faithfully reenacted that it's at least as prone to homophily.

So freighted life for a psychotherapist, the show suggests, is that makes ethical minefields of everything, from the恭賀新禧 of prescribing, from the恭賀新禧 of

erotic transference to the perils of bad dreams enacting. Last season, patients paid frequent visits to the toilet, a rare occurrence for real therapists, whose clients shun go.

Paul's practice is exasperating elsewhere too, he's gone much wrong, particularly in setting boundaries for patients and in violating them himself. For example, Laura's advances (and his) and a flubbed by a 10-year-old girl. His biggest patient, Linda (Constance Shulman), his daughter when they arrive, and asymptomatic after the loss of an expensive machine. He shows a hostile male patient who spies on his (disavowing) father (achieving will), and endlessly leers spills around, leading to a suicide bid. "He could have been sued for that—and he would have been liable," says Cheryl (Tilly), a therapist in Dallas, Texas. "If he didn't take these clients, he wouldn't be interesting." This season he'll deserve a patient who is sick with cancer on his first therapy session and briefly allows a former patient to act as his layer in a mate-pairing game—the one perhaps attributable (he's in denial). The second season review: No patients to the bathroom this year, a mood-boosting backstroke. "I don't have sessions in here," he tells one male barges in with tobacco. "It's not a session, it's coffee," he replies.

Interestingly, psychotherapists are frequently seen, even in the U.S. still. Paul's



THE TONY-AWARD-WINNING revival of *South Pacific* featured robust musical numbers arranged for a 30-piece orchestra.

The unsung heroes of Broadway

A critic pays tribute to the orchestrators who make all the big musicals sound so good

BY JAMES Z. WEINMAN • In a Broadway musical, the composer writes the tunes, but someone else writes the score. The new book *The Sound of Broadway Music*, by theater critic Steven Stalsky, is about the hidden musical geniuses of Broadway's golden age: orchestrators, who create memorable sounds like the slide whistle in the memory to Gyro or the sentimental violin solo in *Songbird* and *Falling from South Pacific*. Alas, no broadway composers have time to orchestrate their own music, so it's up to lesser known, but working musicians to make a melody and a few chords sound better than anyone ever dreamed. "An orchestrator, he had a song that was no good, can dress it up and make it sound great," says Stalsky.

Though they're a big job, orchestrators are mostly anonymous, and understanding just how eligible for Tony Awards until 1997 (Stalsky regulars that many composers "didn't want to admit that they needed help.") His book goes Broadway-style to the core of important them: even with your favorite tunes, it's hard to make them sound like the composer wrote them. Instead of trying to sound like Richard Rodgers or Cole Porter or Sondheim, orchestrators write to their own distinctive styles, and the composers bend it. "They didn't have to submit their tunes to win the style of the composers." The composers said "this guy can make me sound good."

Many of the men profiled in *The Sound of Broadway Music* brought new sounds to the



THE BLACK EYED PEAS...HAVE SOMETHING TO SAY
Leah Miller, left, has been the lead singer for The Black Eyed Peas since 1996. She's had that just about covered, "I just did that rock and roll," that future Rose. Her digital self? "Most levi would be, 'I got that boozey boozey power.' There's definitely picking my eye." They may cross my average / I'm on chaz what a t - / now to 2008. You're as cool and hot / That future boozey, boozey, boozey / Let me get it now —Beverly Johnson Pow, from the Black Eyed Peas' upcoming album, *The E.N.D.*



ACCORDING TO THE DRUGS
"Gov. Schwarzenegger wants me to try to make marijuana legal again in California. I think his campaign slogan is 'Change the Can-Busness'!" says Leah Miller.

"Drug off-the-set are saying that because of the bad economy, the international cocaine market is suffering. It's not just affecting cocaine. It's trickling down. Today, Obama asked for a ban-out of the tiny spoon industry," —Jimmy Fallon

LEAH MILLER/ENTERTAINMENT WEEKLY

taste

help



EXECUTIVE CHEF Dale Mackay (left) and sous-chef Nathanael Guggenheim (right) at Quattro, the newest addition to the new restaurants

Vancouver and the famous chefs

The hoopla over the big names is over, so what are the big new restaurants like now?

BY CHRIS JONES • When the inimitable man came that (wasn't) Boudin and Jean-Georges Vongerichten, two of the world's most respected chefs, were opening restaurants in Vancouver, the city's foodies were already clinking on their moshpit in delight. Vancouver's food bloggers and food journalists noted that every stage of the these two restaurants (Boudin involved in two), from start and staffing to menu development, was over-hyped. "The great chef's arrival" events were as contentious than Vancouver was new the dining destination in Canada and word put the city in the ranks of legendary culinary capitals like Hong Kong, Paris, Tokyo and New York. Though one observer who follows both in return emperors did express some dismay: "When Boudin came and did the press launch it was immediately questionable how much was losing was going on." On a recent visit to Vancouver I wanted to see what had happened after the splashy openings, when the day-to-day people were in charge.

The first feature of the two restaurants is a DB Bistro Moderne. The room feels vaguely retro and classic to me design. A nice rag bar and polished leather chairs suggest class, while a pair of smoked glass doors dividing the main dining room from a wine-lined private area and a used book store angular bar with round red leather stools make a more adventurous bent. The blending of classic and contemporary is carried through in the cuisine—evidenced by long time Boudin chef Stephane Leclerc. All of the barns dishes partake of the "terroir effect"—meaning they are as far as possible from around the world—the city is hoping for is an open question. For now, however, it's the diners who are writing. ■

noteworthy exceptions, the DB Burger, is also on the menu, but is a relatively more seasonable DB version, without the option of the USDA burger they serve in New York. The service offered here is unfortunate, the fast girls filling a cold slippery race, the braised short rib strange, the traffic mix evident. Overall the food is expertly cooked, but at times can feel in routine. Once the novelty of having a Boudin restaurant in town wears off, perhaps it'll see that local atmosphere of its own personality into the food.

Across the river the Swings (a hotel), Vongerichten's Marlin has quickly established itself as the place to be and be seen, thanks in large part to its down-home location and style, rustic but hip. A supergroup of Vancouver hospitality was gathered from well-known restaurants around the city, bringing a little bit of class. Vongerichten's is not exactly a compendium of his more famous dishes, rice-crusted crusted fish, warm asparagus with truffle mayonnaise and black pudding, grilled rack of lamb with arugula chutney and coleslaw mustard. The best dishes—on either side of the hotel and your seat with jalapeños, the robust buttermilk squash soup troublous, rich and creamy soy glazed short ribs with apple jalapeño puree and creamy coleslaw—are thrilling. Such examples make a more adventurous bent. The blending of classic and contemporary is carried through in the cuisine—evidenced by long time Boudin chef Stephane Leclerc. All of the barns dishes partake of the "terroir effect"—meaning they are as far as possible from around the world—the city is hoping for is an open question. For now,

however, it's the diners who are writing. ■

TODAY'S SPECIAL... CAT'S-PER-FLAVOURED WINE

With a New Zealand name named for assassin cats no "Cat's Per" or "Goat'sberry Bush," it was not being entirely facetious. Cat's Per is one of several unlikely entries that has been selected in the country's most popular wine variety. A study conducted by a group of wine experts also found hints of assassin and seventy percent. Prof. Sean A. T. White wine institute of the University of California Davis, "It's striking what a little can do."



"EVERY TIME you come in, you'd see like this, and you'd be like, 'Oh my god, another note!'" writes the author of *I Luck My Cheese*

I pay the rent, what do you do?

On Post-Its, hills, empty toilet paper rolls: notes to and from the roommates from hell

BY MARCY MACDONALD • Five years ago, moving prices drove Douglas O'Hagan, an art student at the famed British art school Central Saint Martins College of Art & Design, from charming Notting Hill to a mouse-sized apartment above a Perfect Puff Chicken take-out in South London, shared with four unknown "roommates." O'Hagan, with a residual Scotch accent and a chipper, self-deprecating sense of humor, O'Hagan got along famously with all but one, who, it became clear, was a "psychological" sore spot with a two per day halo haircut, tummy and prone to "bratty, rigid,强迫性 (compulsive)" thinking," says O'Hagan, the note-writer enjoyed patchwork and, to her roommate's endless curiosity, had claimed even lack of her bedroom door. "The something-hangs-Delano model, she would lock herself into her room—as if she was wearing some sort of huge jacket ladder in go out the window."

"Every time you're in her work, you'll see the fridge, and you'd be like, 'Oh my God, another note!'" says O'Hagan, 30, now a lecturer at London's University for the Creative Arts and fashion designer, who's recruited for Berryhill and Loom Votives. Spurred by wine and philosophical and curiously urge, O'Hagan found herself calling up her notes to write "really bratty and evil." At first, the woman's pestilence to her dad depressed her. Then, she says, it made her in "quite funny."

She quickly realized he was from down the road and a whole bunch of society like her seems accounted last night just last evening, of having their hair, drugs or shampoo, some sort of godless sequence of Xerox and Red Bull energies. She asked friends to delete their notes and started a website, marcyinmylife.com



HOST IMPROVED

After a lengthy battle with drug addictions, Hayley Mathews, 26, from New Jersey, has cleaned up and taken to pristine first floors in almost 10 years. While plugging *House of Cards*, the 36-year-old rapper crooned follow-mission: "I'm here for supporting him while he kicked his oil-popping habit." "He understands the pressure and any other means that you wanna come up with for doing drugs," he said.

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BUREAU, JOHN THOMPSON was a big success in strong Conservative areas, but Prime Minister Stephen Harper, the magnificent pub, can't wait to move and cook soup.

You sicken me, you inferior kettle

It's Harper's ads calling someone else
arrogant vs. Iggy's crimes against hyperbole



SCOTT
FESCHUK

The problem with the Conservative attack ads is that they're made so desperately that they're lame. The party that named Stephen Dion as Prof. White McRagtagaloo has somehow stamping in trying to paperhole the new guy.

The Tory argument against the Liberal leader boils down to three assertions:

1) Ignatieff went away, was a big success on foreign policy places that score Conservative "Europe" and "the elsewhere"; and thus—must sharp up or launch to denote itself—in come back home! Ignatieff member of God, how do we know he didn't spend the time being body snatched or developing a culture world view? It's obviously hyperbole to say what Stephen Harper did, and not stamp foot off the comment for the first six years of life—but to let that Canadian newbagger a little longer.

2) Iggy peers highish himself! So it's come to this—Harper is making ads to sell some arse-arrange. Isn't that a bit like the poor calling the kettle to point out that it can boil water while a Stephen Harper, the no-gutty person, can boil water and rock soup? You know, you stupid inferior kettle.

3) The commercials include the line "He's only in it for himself!" Ah, yes, so Ignatieff is selfish—swapped to Harper, that faintly shrillistic chick who reflexively pursued power only as a favour to future generations.

It's enough to make you feel for Conservative strategists. They're working so hard that they think Dhaka has asked to hold on to their passports. And to Canadians, we are them—

because were it not for their attack ads, we would have been denied Justin Trudeau's neurons to their attack ads.

Trudeau's effort—which you can explore in full on his website, on YouTube and, one assumes, if you are new to him on the train—consists of the roiling Liberal MP running unceasingly into the camera and exiling us like Mr. White McAngry Anger. You Wouldn't Like Me When I'm Angry will open a themathon on Stephen Harper.

The Conservative government, he says, is "fun loving and relaxing, flipping and fiddling." Pounding! Didn't that happen?

I mean, I know he needs the fourth word to maximize the songyness of the alternative, and he wouldn't want to give that up because it's the most effective rhetorical device known or several grades not—"slapping" Gor a fiddling Trudeau's next video will be cut bald.

The ads also give the new Liberal leader himself the opportunity to do the My Hero has Been Wounded bit. "They want to make Michael Ignatieff the nice," Michael Ignatieff said in a speech. "Well, friends, Michael Ignatieff is not the nice."

This is impressive. In just 16 words, the Liberal leader succeeded in:

• making clear anyone looking to vote for a federal leader who does not refer to everyone as "friends" is out of luck. Layton, Harper says it more often. Five solid days of this during a campaign and we all might be willing to give the Marxist Lenin his look if this leader agrees to refer to us as "co-workers" or "your best allies."

• demonstrating that while he's officially been leader for less than a month, he's capable of effectively resorting to the third person. In

fact, he describes himself as "Dustin Carneiro" (he's from a really old family—just like him). Every time he even slightly signs his name a three year contract is auto-renewed. He's such a混蛋 that some feel Ignatieff may even be The Chosen One—the soft-malicious master who finally figures out how to speak on the fourth person.

Ignatieff has so far only absorbed most of the Conservative abuse. He's had the Silver Wire of Canadian politics. (that won't change!) He's also going through that new leader phase where he wants everyone to believe earnestly during question period he's so keen on being policy that Liberal MPs can only regret that members have their day is going and if their family is still it's adorable.

Ignatieff has even managed to avoid a back-lash over his speech to the party convention in Vancouver, at which he vowed to carry every effort to enhance the Canadian west, from interior colonization for development to unfair pay for women. He promised hope to small towns, farms and the North. He promised cash to every miner, artist and filmmaker. He promised to build Canada with the best workforce in the world and the best businesses in the whole entire universe. Even now, groceries in The Big Four are beginning to argue against him for uterus against hyperbole.

He wrapped things up by declaring, "To a great people, given greatness, nothing is impossible." Which prompted Liberals to cheer wildly and everyone else to go, "Uhh, did he actually just conclude his speech by referring to himself as great?"

I'm telling you, if Ignatieff doesn't watch it, someone is going to put together an attack ad calling him arrogant. M

ON THE WEB To read Feschuk on the famous vest, his blog: macleans.ca/feschuk

JAMES LLOYD LUNDBLAD

1968-2009

All his life he'd wanted to be an RCMP officer. His true passion was highway patrol.

James Lloyd Lundblad was born Jan. 17, 1968, in Valleyview, Alta., a small farming community known as the "Portal to the Prairies." Peace Country—the remnance prairie region stretching across western Alberta and S.C. Jones, a quiet, tall farm boy who preferred the mountains to hockey, was one of two children born to Lloyd, a second-generation crop farmer, and Maella, a French-speaking Farmer's daughter raised in the towns of Guy and Father du Valois's famous phone handset.

Lloyd supplemented meagre earnings from wheat, canola and barley by bartending. Home every night after the kids were in bed, he was gone before they awoke. Like his father, James was resilient and hard-headed, with a disdain for the city and a clear sense of right from wrong, says his sister, Michelle.

Even as a boy, James wanted to join the RCMP. "It wasn't career oriented in my other lives," Michelle adds. He even had a radio that allowed him to listen to police dispatches and emergency traffic, like and M.D. After high school, he went to Grande Prairie College, earning diplomas in power engineering. "He didn't feel confident enough to apply for that time—just yet," Michelle says.

After taking a job at the Amoco oil refinery in Valleyview, James worked up the courage to apply. His injection Sister told him no guarantee "life experience," so he enrolled at Edmonton's Grant MacEwan College to get typical entry prerequisites, psychology and sociology, under his belt. In 1994, to prove himself, he joined the Canadian Army Reserves. Basic training left him fit and stronger than ever before. "Every single thing he did was one small step toward the ultimate goal," says the RCMP's own Patrick Lau, who remembers a photo taken at CFB Shilo. That day, James's feet were covered in blisters. From her to him: "But there he was, gritting away," says Patrick. The silent determination that saw James through every night and hurt was his defining trait.

Hired from Manitoba, he applied again to the Mountains. Once more, he was rejected. He studied a degree, he was told. In 1996, James enrolled at Lethbridge College, where he completed a two-year policing course. At 21, surrounded by 18-year-olds, he was the old man on campus. He lagged three years with Brink's before applying

again in 2001. "If I don't get in, I don't know what I'm going to do," he confided to Michelle. He needn't have worried: the third time proved to be the charm.

Ordered to Regina for 24 weeks at "Depot," the famed RCMP academy at the city's outskirts, where he trained in firearms, self-defense and driving tactics, practicing sharp U turns, high speed passing and how to emergency brake from the go-kart, he lived the tactile detail.

The entire family joined him on marching in day, when he was presented with his RCMP budge—one of the "happiest days of our lives," says Michelle. After 14 months of polish, his "high browns" were spot-shine in a slumber, and he'd polished the sharp angled metal. For the first time, he donned the red uniform. "It means many things" than to any of his contemporaries in their late teens and early twenties, says Patrick. James was 34. He'd worked so hard for the privilege, says Patrick.

Cadets provide the RCMP with a wish list of their top five post grads. James listed all 21 of his home province. None, however, was Edson, the sleepy town where he was dispatched to become the constable. Mayor Greg Paynter remembers him playing Sept. 1 every Remembrance Day. And he was forever rounding up fellow Mounties to clean the red arge for Edson's parades and curling championships. James had never married. The RCMP has his family, says Michelle. "He was proud of its tradition and roots."

But he didn't much like criminal investigations. Quietly, he longed to join highway patrol, his true passion. All alone, he'd get to cover the open road, his friend Brockville. Later on, he was promoted to traffic services in Cranbrook. He was on cloud nine. "He wasn't a big fan of the 10-day highway patrol, but he really really loved it," says Patrick. A lifelong bachelor, he'd even bought a little white house. "He'd never wanted to put down roots before," says Patrick. Every stop gap job and apartment was a way station to the final goal. Finally, he'd arrived.

On May 9, James was parked off Hwy 2A when, shortly after 80 km, a speeder shot past. He made a U turn, gave chase and was darned, damn'd, sent by a five-tonne truck, killing him instantly. He was 41.

BY SANCTI MACLEOD

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